



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

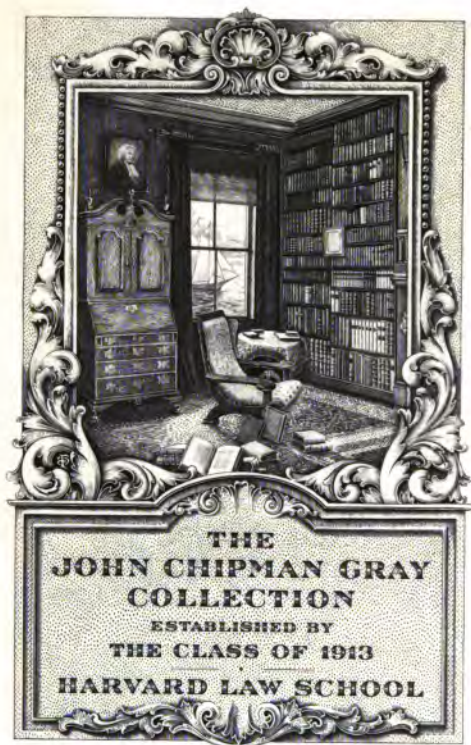
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

HDI



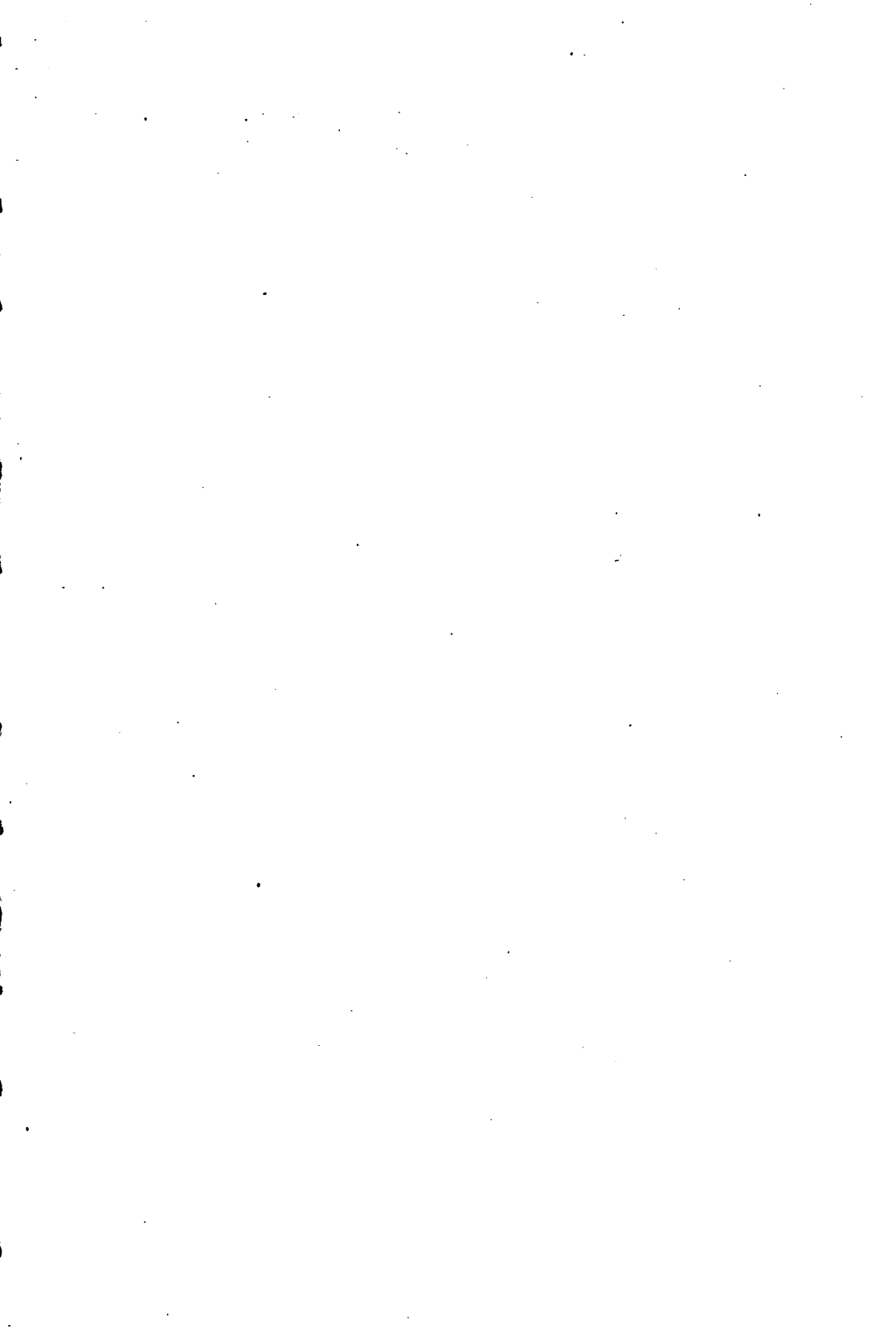
HL 57NK 7

Law Sports at Gray's Inn
(1594)



**THE
JOHN CHIPMAN GRAY
COLLECTION**

ESTABLISHED BY
THE CLASS OF 1913
HARVARD LAW SCHOOL



REPORTS AND *W. Murray* CASES,

TAKEN

In the time of Queen *ELIZABETH*, King *JAMES*,
and King *CHARLES*;

Collected and Reported by that learned Lawyer

WILLIAM NOY,

Sometimes READER of the Honourable Societie of

LINCOLNES - INNE,

SINCE

ATTOVRNEY GENERALL

to the late **KING CHARLES.**

Containing most Excellent matter of Ex-
ceptions to all manner of Declarations, Pleadings,
and Demurrers, that there is scarce one Action
in a Probability of being brought, but here it is
thoroughly examin'd and Exactly layd.

Now translated into English.

With Two necessary Tables of the Cases and Contents, for
the Readers ease and benefit.

L O N D O N,

Printed by F. L. for Matthew Walbancke at *Graves-Inne Gate*, and T. Furbie
near *Graves-Inne Gate* in *Holborne*, 1656.

(See Page 36)

ER

Brown, Isabelle Kittson

Law Sports at Gray's Inn

(1594)

cf

Including Shakespeare's connection
with the Inn's of Court, the origin
of the *Capias Utlegatum* re Coke
and Bacon, Francis Bacon's
connection with Warwickshire,
together with a reprint of the
Gesta Grayorum

By Basil Brown

Author "Notes on Elizabethan Poets,"
"Supposed Caricature of the Droeshout
Portrait of Shakespeare," etc.

NEW YORK

1921

RECT
G
BRO

ix
6752

Copyright 1921

By Basil Brown

JUN 10 1921

Privately Printed by the Author

To Gray's Inn
"Old *Purpulii* Britain's Ornament"
the Author Dedicates this humble offering



CONTENTS

Introduction	i-xciv
Shakespeare's Connection With the Inns of Court.....	1- 25
Shakespeare's Plays Controlled by Bacon's Friends.....	26- 34
Why Queen Elizabeth Neglected Bacon—That <i>Capias Utlegatum</i> . 34- 35	
Origin of " <i>Capias Utlegatum</i> " Insult Offered to Bacon by Queen Elizabeth's Attorney-General, Sir Edward Coke.....	37- 49
Francis Bacon's Connection With Warwickshire and the Forest of Arden	50- 78
Bacon's Connection With the Burbage's.....	79-119
You Would Pluck Out the Heart of My Mystery.....	120-150
Shakespeare's Lodgings in Silver Street.....	151-155
Bacon's Warwickshire Kinsmen and the Underhill's.....	156-161
Was Anne Cecill the Prototype of Helena in "All's Well".....	162-168
Appendix A—	
History of the Manor and Ancient Barony of Castle Com- be. Re Sir John Fastolf's Ward.....	169-176
Appendix B—	
Edmund Tilney, Master of the Revels.....	177-182
Appendix C—	
List of Lands Owned by the Cooke's, Lords of Hartshill....	184-188

CHAPTER 1

1.1. Introduction

1.1.1. The Problem

1.1.2. The Solution

1.1.3. The Conclusion

1.1.4. The Summary

1.1.5. The Appendix

1.1.6. The Bibliography

1.1.7. The Index

1.1.8. The Glossary

1.1.9. The Acknowledgments

1.1.10. The Foreword

1.1.11. The Preface

1.1.12. The Introduction

1.1.13. The Conclusion

1.1.14. The Summary

INTRODUCTION

"It is a point fit and necessary in the front or beginning of this work without hesitation or reservation to be professed, that it is no less true in this human kingdom of knowledge than in God's Kingdom of Heaven, that no man shall enter into it *except he become first as a little child.*"—Bacon's *Valerius Terminus*.

Shakespeare clothes the same truth as follows:

Hel. "He that of greatest works is finisher,
Oft does them by the weakest minister;
So holy writ in babes hath judgment shown,
When judges hath been babes. Great floods
have flown
From simple sources; and great seas have
dried,
When miracles have by the greatest been
denied." *All's Well*—II-I.

The spirit of Truth breathes through these lines of Bacon's, for he had in his nature a quality of divineness. The same idea as expressed by Shakespeare is a

"Truth in beauty dyed."

The above quotations assimilate so well, and seem so of a piece, that I cannot divorce the one from the other, especially in these pages where their authors are so often referred to. And to confess a truth to the patient reader, they gave me courage to begin this, the second reprint of the *Gesta Grayorum* in 1913, and caused me to think as Helena did in *All's Well*,

"What I can do, can do no hurt to try."

Search was made at Columbia University Library, Congressional Library and British Museum, but none of these Libraries possess a copy of the *Gesta Grayorum*. It was not until this reprint was in book pages that Mr. Frederic W. Erb, Supervisor of the loan department of Columbia University Library (to whom I am extremely indebted) procured from the Boston Public Library a *fac-simile* of the title page of its copy of the *Gesta Grayorum*, which is used in this reprint. My best thanks are also due to Mr. W. A. White of Brooklyn, who kindly lent me his fine original copy of the *Gesta Grayorum*, from which I have copied W. Canning's Dedication to Matthew Smyth, Esq. Mr. White's library contains some of the rarest books known to collectors.

An exact copy has also been made of the title page, as well as the page containing the "*Capias Utlegatum*"—which Attorney General Coke would have clapped upon Bacon's back. This I discovered in Sir William Noy's "*Reports and Cases taken in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles,*" London. 1656 folio. (See *frontis page*.)

This "*Capias Utlegatum*" has given birth to many cryptograms and biliteral ciphers undeserving of belief; and I venture to say they have brought more discredit on the fame of Francis Bacon than the original writ of outlawry itself.

Interwoven in a web of mystery, seemed to me the two greatest names in English literature—Francis Bacon and William Shakespeare. Were it not for the *Northumberland Manuscript*, wherein these two names

co-mingle and are forever entwined, as early as 1594 (because "*Orations at Graie's Inne Revells*" . . . "*By Mr. Francis Bacon,*" is mentioned as a part of its contents), we would never have known that Bacon composed the speeches for the six Councillors in the *Gesta Grayorum*.

Spedding, commenting on the *Gesta Grayorum* and these speeches, says:

"Thus ended one of the most elegant Christmas entertainments, probably, that was ever presented to an audience of statesmen and courtiers. That Bacon had a hand in the general design is merely a conjecture; we know that he had a taste in such things and did sometimes take a part in arranging them; and the probability seemed strong enough to justify a more detailed account of the whole evening's work than I should otherwise have thought fit. But that the speeches of the six councillors were written by him, and by him alone, no one who is at all familiar with his style, either of thought or expression, will for a moment doubt it. They carry his signature in every sentence. And they have a much deeper interest for us than could have been looked for in such a sportive exercise belonging to so forgotten a form of idleness. All these councillors speak with Bacon's tongue and out of Bacon's brain; but the second and fifth speak out of his heart and judgment also. The propositions of the latter contain an enumeration of those very reforms, in state and government, which throughout his life he was most anxious to see realized. In those of the former may be traced, faintly but unmistakably, a first hint of his great project for the restoration of

the dominion of knowledge,—a first draft of 'Solomon's House,'—a rudiment of that history of universal nature, which was to have formed the third part of the 'Instauratio,' and is in my judgment (as I have elsewhere explained at large) the principal novelty and great characteristic feature of the Baconian philosophy. This composition is valuable, therefore, not only as showing with what fidelity his mind when left to itself pointed always, in sport as in earnest, towards the great objects which he had set before him, but also as giving us one of the very few certain dates by which we can measure the progress of his philosophical speculations in these early years."—*Letters and Life of Francis Bacon, Vol. I, p. 342 et seq.*

Nor would we have known Francis Davison, and Thomas Campion had collaborated in the *Masque of Proteus*, had not Davison in his *Poetical Rhapsody*, 1602-1608, revealed the fact. It is by these mosaics or piecing bits together that the student must endeavor to peep behind the curtain of the *Gesta Grayorum* sports and revels.

In Spedding's account of the *Gesta Grayorum*, he says:

"It is a pity that the publisher, whoever he was, did not tell us a little more about the manuscript, though it is probable enough that he had not much more to tell. Nothing is more natural than that such a narrative should have been written at the time for the amusement and satisfaction of the parties concerned; should have been laid by and forgotten; and found again lying by itself, without anybody to tell its story for it."—*Letters and Life of Francis Bacon, Vol. I, p. 343.*

The writer hopes to tell some of its story and of the actors in it. Francis Davison, the poet, who acted in the *Gesta Grayorum*, mentions having "*lent*" to "*Eleaz Hodgson*," "*Graye's 'In Sportes' under Sir Henry Helmes*." N. H. Nicolas, Ed. *Poetical Rhapsody*.

Henry Helmes (our *Prince of Portpoole*) was not knighted until 1603 at Whitehall by James I.

As has been said, Campion and Davison composed the *Masque of Proteus* which was performed before the Queen at Greenwich Palace at Shrovetide, 1594-5. In 1602 Davison brought out his *Poetical Rhapsody* and in one of his sonnets "To his first love" is the following:

"Upon presenting her with the Speech at Gray's
Inn Mask, at the court, 1594,
Consisting of three parts—the story of *Proteus'*
Transformations,
The Wonders of the *Adamantine Rock*, and a
Speech to her Majesty."

"Who in these lines may better claim a part,
That sing the praises of the maiden Queen,
Than you, fair sweet, that only sovereign been
Of the poor kingdom of my faithful heart?
Or, to whose view should I this speech impart;
Where the adamantine rock's great power is
shown;
But to your conq'ring eyes, whose force once
known,
Makes even iron hearts loath thence to part?
Or who of *Proteus'* sundry transformations,
May better send you the new feigned story
Than I, whose love unfeigned felt no mutations,
Since to be yours I first received the glory?

Accept then, of these lines, though meanly
penned,
So fit for you to take and me to send."

In this Sonnet it will be noted Davison only refers to "the speech" or to the lines, "*That sing the praises of the maiden Queen.*" There was more than one speech recited by the two speakers in the *Mask*, an *Esquire* and *Proteus*. The others were singers and musicians.

Knowing the sad history of young Davison's father, these lines in praise of the stony-hearted Queen are pathetic in the extreme. Elizabeth's character was diametrically opposite to this ideal of the poet, and none knew this better than her flatterers. I think Davison spoke the speech of the *Esquire* himself, hoping to bring the remembrance of his sorrowing father to the Queen's notice. The Earl of Essex and Francis and Anthony Bacon were in sympathy with young Davison, who was distantly related to the Bacons. See A. H. Bullen's Ed. of the *Poetical Rhapsody*, 1891, for Davison's letters to Anthony Bacon, Secretary to the Earl of Essex, 1596.

When Elizabeth failed to get two honorable men, Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, to *secretly assassinate Mary, Queen of Scots*, she sneered at their "daintiness." Even after she had signed the warrant for Mary's execution and returned it to the Secretary, Sir William Davison, she desired him to "hint to Paulet that he might privately rid her of his troublesome charge." After Mary was beheaded, Elizabeth had Davison arrested and sent to the Tower, although

he was suffering at the time with palsy. He was fined "ten thousand marks and imprisonment in the Tower during the Queen's pleasure." Her "pleasure" kept him in the Tower until 1589, although in his own words he had "acted sincerely, soundly and honestly." Elizabeth remained deaf to his petition and he died in 1608 without regaining her favor. Davison, after paying his fine, was reduced to poverty and left little for his six children, two of whom, Francis and Christopher, were students of Gray's Inn.

"Errors like straws upon the surface flow;
Who would search for pearls must dive below."

The *Gesta Grayorum* must excite the interest of every true lover of Shakespeare, for in its pages the student will view to the life many of the men and women for whom he wrote the immortal poems and plays.

Among the illustrious men, the following are named :

"On the 3d of January at night, there was a most honourable presence of great and noble personages, that came as invited to our Prince; as namely, the Hight Honourable the Lord Keeper, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Cumberland, Northumberland, Southampton, and Essex; the Lords Buckhurst, Windsor, Mountjoy, Sheffield, Compton, Rich, Burleygh, Mounteagle, and the Lord Thomas Howard; Sir Thomas Henneage, Sir Robert Cecill; with a great number of knights, ladies, and very worshipful personages; all of which had convenient places, and very good entertainment, to their good liking and contentment." P. 33, *Gesta Grayorum*.

The Great Queen herself is shown as gracing the gentlemen of Gray's Inn and especially complimenting their *Prince of Purpoole*, young Henry Helmes of Norfolk. Elizabeth was over sixty years old. Did her memory go back to "a grand and solemn Christmas" performed by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple in 1561? On that occasion her favorite, Lord Robert Dudley, was the "chief performer, and lord governor, or Prince and patron of the honorable *Order of Pegasus*." Twenty-four gentlemen of the Inner Temple were by him dubbed "*Knights of the Order of Pegasus*." *Dugales Origines*. Gray's Inn sent an Ambassador to "grace" this Masque of *Palaphilos*—"Because our State of *Graya* did grace *Templaria* with the presence of an Ambassador about thirty years since." P. 29, *Gesta Grayorum*. Hesiod implies that "the winged horse yoked to Jove's Chariot bears Jove's thunders and lightnings." Thirty-three years had flown since that eventful time but still the Queen seemed to keep her age . . . "in youth's immortal flower," according to her flattering poet in 1599.

Francis Bacon was born January 22, 1561. Just a month after her favorite, Lord Robert Dudley, had inaugurated the *Order of Pegasus*, and from the time that he could lisp her name he adored the Queen. In the Sports and Revels at Gray's Inn, he was always head and front. It is probable he contrived the *Order of the Helmet*, as well as composed the six Councillors' speeches in the *Gesta Grayorum*.

In 1870 Spedding edited a part of what is now called the *Northumberland Manuscript*. This had

been found by Mr. John Bruce at Northumberland House in August, 1867. Herein were "found the transcripts of the papers of Bacon" which were communicated to Spedding by Bruce, who says:

"I mentioned this circumstance at the time to some members of the family of the Duke of Northumberland, who took an interest in what I was about. I pointed it out as a subject for further inquiry, and at the same time directed attention to the oddity of the recurrence and combination of the names of Bacon and Shakespeare in the scribble on the fly-leaf of the MS."

Speddings in his comment on this says:

"The name Shakespeare is spelt in every case as it was always *printed* in those days, and not as he himself in any case ever wrote it."—*A Conference of Pleasure*, p. xxv.

The outside cover of the manuscript has two quotations from Shakespeare, one being:

"Revealing day through every cranie peeps."

In the list of its contents Shakespeare's *Rich. II* and *Rich. III* are mentioned, also: "*Orations at Gray's Inne Revells.*"

My opinion is that the *Gesta Grayorum* was originally a part of the *Northumberland Manuscript*, which was written *circa* 1594-1597.. The original was first printed by W. Canning in 1688 and dedicated "To the most Honorable Mathew Smyth, Esq., Comptroller of The Honorable Society of The Inner Temple." Where or when Canning found it is not known.

To the student of Elizabethan literature the *Gesta Grayorum* is of inestimable value. In it are brought together the principal officers of Elizabeth's Court, peers of the realm, great lawyers, noblemen, knights and gentlemen, and although last, not least, the most eminent men of letters, Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, Bacon, Thomas Campion, poet and physician, Francis Davison, and I have reason to believe John Lyly was also present among these poets, and that he collaborated in the masques and dumb shows.

Persistent research leads me also to believe that Shakespeare wrote his *Comedy of Errors* for this occasion. It fits in perfectly with the "*law sports*." Reference to the *Gesta Grayorum* has hitherto, like a will-o-the-wisp, flitted through many Shakespearean books, but the inquiring mind has not been satisfied with these allusions. The original manuscript, as I have said before, was printed by W. Canning in 1688. Mr. John Nichols published the first reprint of same in his *Progresses of Elizabeth*, 1788-1823. Spedding said: "The printed copy in *Gesta Grayorum* is full of errors."

I had not even that to follow when I made this, the second reprint of the work, but have copied that of Nichols in his *Progresses of Elizabeth*, Ed. 1823, III, p. 262. Nichols says: "This tract was printed in 1688 for W. Canning, at his shop in the Temple Cloysters. The publisher was Mr. Henry Keepe, who published the monuments of Westminster." Henry Keepe was an antiquary, and published several works.

This, the second reprint of the *Gesta Grayorum*, has been in type pages for six years, but owing to the

terrible world war and the writer's illness, could not be published until now.

It has been shown that the names of Francis Bacon and William Shakespeare have been linked together as early as 1594-1597, in the *Northumberland Manuscript*, and these super-eminent men are again brought into close touch in the *Gesta Grayorum*. Bacon was born great, Shakespeare achieved greatness; but the student well knows that even the well-born men of illustrious family did not and could not succeed in that age, without a "friend at Court."

The peerless Bacon himself did not secure an office in State affairs until long after Elizabeth's death (June, 1607) when he was 46 years of age. Is it not plausible therefore to think that the unknown youth from Stratford could not have leaped, Minerva-like, into the highest sphere of intellectual life without a most *potent friend at Court*? It is my belief that Shakespeare's friend was Francis Bacon. It follows therefore that through Bacon's influence Shakespeare first secured an entrance to the theatre, and afterwards, through the same power, became one of the "Lord Chamberlain's Servants." Up to the time of the *Gesta Grayorum*, in fact up to 1598, the Shakespeare plays had appeared anonymously, but on the very date on which the *Comedy of Errors* was performed at Gray's Inn, Shakespeare's name is for the first time recorded among the Lord Chamberlain's servants, *i. e.*, the *players*. When not performing at Court, the Lord Chamberlain's players were allowed to play "publicly." *There is no record or any contemporary evi-*

dence that Shakespeare was ever a manager of a company of players, or of a theatre. The Burbages, James and Cuthbert his son, were theatre managers. There is no record either of Shakespeare ever having received payments for the company.

Knight's *Biography of Shakespeare* (p. 473, Ed. 1882) says:

"The last entry in the books of the Treasurer of the Chamber during the reign of Elizabeth . . . is the following:

"To John Heminges and the rest of his companie, servaunts to the Lorde Chamberleyne, uppon the councells warraunte, dated at Whitehall the XXth of Aprill, 1603, for their paines and expenses in presentinge before the late Queenes Majesty twoe playes, the one uppon St. Stephens day at nighte and thother upon Candlemas day at night, for each of which they were allowed, by way of her Majesty's rewarde, tenne pounds, amounting in all to XX.'"

This shows Heminge was the business manager of the Lord Chamberlain's servants, of which Shakespeare was one.

In the accounts of the treasurer of the Chamber from 1594 (*Gesta Grayorum* time) to Shakespeare's death in 1616, John Heminge received payments for the plays by warrants of the Lord Chamberlain. During the troubles of the Earl of Essex, Augustine Phillips was the manager.

When, out of courtesy to King James I. Lord Hundson's men became the "King's servants" in 1603, John Heminge continued to receive the payments for plays from that date up to 1625, when James I. died.

Heminge was not only the treasurer of the company but was also a manager. I find he continued to receive the payments up to the time of his death in 1630. Nowhere is there found contemporary mention of "*Shakespeare's company*." This the student ought to bear in mind, if he would be exact. The plays were called Shakespeare's. John Heminge and Henry Condell in the *Folio* of 1623 refer to him as "our friend and fellow."

When *Hamlet* had caught the conscience of the King with his dumb show and play, he turns to *Horatio*, his friend, and says: "Would not this Sir, and a forest of feathers (if the rest of my fortunes turn Turk [cruel] with me . . .) get me a fellowship in a cry of players, Sir?"

Knight says, "A cry of players was a company; a fellowship was a participation in the profits." We know from Prof. Wallace's discoveries that Shakespeare owned at least a whole share and a quarter in 1599, but "his final interest in the Globe exceeded by very little a fourteenth part of the whole property." *Lee's Life*, p. 305.

During all this period of "Errors" dumb shows, orations, masques and mummings at Gray's Inn, Francis Bacon was suffering an "exquisite disgrace." In a letter to Essex (1594) he writes:

My Lord,

I thank your Lordship very much for your kind and comfortable letter, which I hope will be followed at hand with another of more assurance. And I must confess this very delay hath gone so near me, as it hath almost overthrown

my health. For when I revolved the good memory of my father, the near degree of alliance I stand to my Lord Treasurer [William Cecil], your Lordship's so signalled and declared favour, the honorable testimony of so many counsellors, the commendation unlaboured and in sort offered by my Lords the Judges and the Master of the Rolls elect; that I was voiced with great expectation, and (though I say it myself) with the wishes of most men, to the higher place; that I am a man that the Queen hath already done for; and princes, especially her Majesty, loveth to make an end where they begin; and then add hereunto the obscureness and many exceptions to my competitors; when (I say) I resolve all this, I cannot but conclude with myself that no man ever received a more exquisite disgrace. And therefore truly, my Lord, I was determind, and am determind, if her Majesty reject me, this to do. My nature can take no evil ply; but I will by God's assistance, with this disgrace of my fortune, and yet with that comfort of the good opinion of so many worthy and honorable persons, retire myself with a couple of men to Cambridge, and there spend my life in my studies and contemplations without looking back. I humbly pray your Lordship to pardon me for troubling you with my melancholy," etc. *Life and Letters of Bacon*, Vol. I, p. 290.

Bacon grew pale and thin. His mother wrote to his brother Anthony that Francis "was musing on she knew not what." His mortal enemy, Coke, secured the office of attorney-general, which Bacon had so long hoped for.

In his essay *Of Friendship* Bacon says:

“Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things, which they principally take to heart: the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work or the like.”

And truly at this period Bacon suffered the keenest anguish of mind.

This Essay *Of Friendship* is so fine that I venture a further quotation:

If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him; so that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place; but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy; for he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face, or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them: a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate, or beg, and a number of the like: but all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms: whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person: but to enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part, if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

I consider the *Gesta Grayorum* the most important Tract in Elizabethan literature. Viewed as the source

of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, it ought to be welcomed by all who have the Elizabethan poets well in mind. Throughout the three hundred and twenty-six years that separate us from the reign of *Henry Prince of Purpoole*, at Gray's Inn, where Bacon masked and reveled, Shakespeare's name and fame have grown with undiminished lustre; while the memory of his illustrious contemporary, Sir Francis Bacon, is revered and loved by posterity. Bacon was looked up to by those who loved letters, in his own day. His wisdom, rhetoric, and oratory, were admired by the chief poets of his time, and as a prophet and lawgiver, he is forever identified with his country's fame.

Those who love or devote themselves to letters usually scorn lucre, and Bacon was no exception to this unworldliness. That worthy follower of *Apollo*, Thomas Campion, poet, musician and physician, in an *Epigram* (190) proves Bacon had:

"a hand open as day for melting charity."

and in this *Epigram* he shows that the King in honoring Bacon, in 1617, is more honored himself thereby. Campion has two *Epigrams* on Bacon. I will give the latter one first (*Campion's works Ed. by Bullen, 1889.*)

190 *Ad eundem.*

Patre, nec im merito quamvis amplissimus esset,
Amplior, ut virtus, sic tibi crescit honor.
Quantus ades, seu te spinosa volumina juris,
Seu schloa, sua dulcis Musa (Bacone) vocat!
Quam super ingenti tua re prudentia regnat,
Et tota aethereo nectare lingua madens!
Quam bene cum tacita nectis gravitate lepores!

Quam semel admissis stat tuus almus amor!
Haud stupet aggesti mens in fulgore metalli;
Nunquam visa tibi est res peregrina, dare.
O factum egregie, tua (Rex clarissime) tali
Gracia cum splendet suspicienda viro!

That is:

Although you were most honorable and duly by
your paternal descent
More impressive, as your merit, so grows your
honor,
In all the fullness of thy presence, whether the
obstruse tomes of the law,
Whether the school, or Sweet Muse, O Bacon,
summons thee!
And with all thy tongue imbued with nectar of
the upper world!
How well with silent gravity thou completest
sallies of wit!
How firm is thy sweet affection for those once
admitted to it!
Nor is your mind dazed by the sheen of metal
heaped up.
Never has *giving* appeared by you a foreign
thing.
O splendid act (most gracious King) when thy
Grace
Is resplendent as one to be looked up to by such
a man!

Campion so well skilled in music, who could make
marvelous sweet airs and songs, was moved by the elo-
quent "tongue" of Bacon, "imbued with nectar of the
upper world."

Francis Meres [1598] was enamoured of Shakes-
peare for the same gift, and calls him "mellifluous and
honey-tongued Shakespeare," and he says "the Muses

would speak with Shakespeare's tongue if they would speak English."

Campion's other *Epigram* (189) on Bacon, *ibid*, p. 303.

Ad ampliss. totius Angliae Cancellarium, Fr.

Ba.

*Debet multa tibi veneranda (Bacon) poesis
Illo de docto perlepidoque libro,
Que manet inscriptus Veterum Sapientia; famae
Et per cuncta tuae saecula manebit opus;
Multaque te celebrent quanquam tua scripta,
fatebor
Ingenue, hoc laute tu mihi, docte, sapis.*

That is:

To the Right Honorable, the Chancellor of All England, Francis Bacon.

*Much owes to thee O Bacon, the worshipful art
of poetry
In connection with that book learned and very
clever,
Which remains inscribed Veterum Sapientia;
And through all the ages it will endure a work
of your fame;
And although many writings of yours make you
renowned I shall candidly confess
In this (work) your wisdom to my mind appears
with elegance and learning.*

Thomas Campion wrote the *Hymns in Praise of Neptune* for the *Gesta Grayorum*. The first *Hymn* was printed by Francis Davison in his *Poetical Rhapsody* in 1602-1608—Query: Was the following *Epigram* sent to the members of Gray's Inn on that date? (*ibid* p. 366).

Ad Graios—

*Grali sive magis juvat vetustum
Nomen, purpulii, decus Britannum,
Sic Astraea gregem beare vestrum,
Sic Pallas velet; ut favere nugis
Disjuncti socii velitis ipsi,
Tetrae si neque sint, nec infacetae,
Sed quales merito exhibere plausu
Vosmet, ludere cum lubet, soletis.*

That is:

To Grays—

*Ye Gray's, or if you better like the name of old
Purpulii Britains ornament,
So may Astraea be pleased to bless your flock,
So Pallas may; to favor trifles
As comrades divided, may it please yourselves
If these (the trifles) be neither vile, nor witless,
But such as deservedly you are wont to produce
with praise
Yourselves when you are wont to dally.*

I think these "trifles" were the *Hymns* for the *Masque* which was performed before "*Astraea*" [Queen Elizabeth] at Greenwich Palace. "*Purpulii*" alias *Portpoole* is the name of the manor in which Gray's Inn was situated. This manor belonged to the family of the Gray's from Edward I until the reign of Henry VII.

Campion's *Hymns*, one given at the beginning and the other at the close of the *Masque*, are here presented.

*Of Neptune's empire let us sing,
At whose command the waves obey,
To whom rivers tribute pay,
Down the high mountain sliding:
To whom the scaly nation yields*

*Homage for their chrystal fields,
Wherein they dwell.
And every Sea-god praise again,
Yearly out of his wat'ry cell,
To deck great Neptune's diadem.*

*The Tritons dancing in a ring,
Before his palace-gates, do make
The waiters with their trumpets quake,
Like the great thunder sounding.
The Sea-nymphs chaunt their accents shrill,
And the Syrens taught to kill
With their sweet voice,
Make every echoing voice reply
Unto their gentle mourning noise,
In praise of Neptune's empery.*

The second *Hymn*, which was sung at the departure of the Maskers into the Rock.

*Shadows before the shining Sun do vanish:
Th' iron-forcing Adamant doth resign
His virtues, where the Diamond doth shine,
Pure Holiness doth all Inchantments blemish;
And Councillors of false Principality
Do fade in presence of true Majesty.
Shepherds sometimes in Lion's-skins were cloath'd;
But when the Royal Lion doth appear,
What wonder if the silly swains, for fear,
Their bravery, and Princely pall have loath'd?
The Lion's-skin, that grac'd our vanity,
Falls down in presence of her Majesty.*

This last *Hymn* of Campion's seems to echo the lines in the *Comedy of Errors* (II.2).

*"When the sun shines let foolish knats make
sport, but creep in crannies
When he hides his beams."*

The lines:

“And Councillors of false Principality
Do fade in presence of true Majesty.”

remind one of the speeches of the six Councillors of the *Prince of Purpoole*, which were composed by Bacon.

In Foster's *Ad. Regis of Gray's Inn*, I find a Thomas Campion of London gent. was admitted April 27, 1586, and on August 10, 1611, Edward Campion, son and heir of Thomas Campion of London, gent. was admitted.

Henry Helmes, gent. of Rougham (Ruffy), Norfolk, Master of the Revels *Prince of Purpoole* was admitted to Gray's Inn, June 17, 1594.

Foster's *Regist. Adm. to Gray's Inn*.

The *Gesta Grayorum* tells us:

“After many consultations had hereupon by the youths and others that were most forward herein, at length, about the 12th of December, with the consent and assistance of the Readers and Ancients, it was determined, that there should be elected a *Prince of Purpoole*, to govern our state for the time; which was intended to be for the credit of Gray's Inn, and rather to be performed by witty inventions than chargeable expenses.

“Whereupon, they presently made choice of one Mr. Henry Holmes, a Norfolk gentleman, who was thought to be accomplished with all good parts, fit for so great a dignity; and was also a very proper man of personage, and very active in dancing and revelling.”

It now remains for me to give what account I can of this Prince of Sports who reigned and died in 1594. I have minutely gleaned what little I can, although dili-

gent research has failed to disclose more than faint outlines. However, to a student like myself, my trifling discovery relating to our *Prince of Purpoole* (who must have known Shakespeare) acquires some importance.

From 1525 (perhaps earlier) the gentlemen of Gray's Inn had at Christmas time a Lord of Misrule. The Inns of Court men composed their own plays and acted in them. In 1529 one Simon Fish of Gray's Inn acted a part against Cardinal Wolsey which so displeased the great churchman, that Fish had to fly the country. In 1566 George Gascoigne's *Jocasta* was played by the students of Gray's Inn. In 1587-8 the poet Thomas Campion acted in a "Comedy" at Gray's Inn, and in the following month several members of the Inn composed *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, which they performed at Greenwich before the Queen. The authors of this *Senecan* Tragedy were Francis Bacon (who acted in the dumb shows), Christopher Yelverton, Nicholas Trott (who wrote the introduction) and five others. My own opinion is that Gray's Inn may in truth be called the very cradle and nursery of the English Drama.

So far as I know, Henry Helmes was the first Lord of Misrule to be called the *Prince of Purpoole*. In 1617 when Bacon became Lord Chancellor the Second "*Prince of Purpoole*" is mentioned. In Minshue's *Guide to the Tongues* (2nd Ed. 1625) among the names of the subscribers I find those of: "The Lord Baron Verulam, Sir Henry Helmes, one of the gentlemen Pensioners to his Majesty," and also one "Henry the

Second, *Prince of Graya and Purpoole*, etc." No doubt the first edition of Minshue (1617) contained this list also.

The following named gentlemen were admitted to Gray's Inn through the courtesy of our Henry Helmes on December 25, 1594:

John Cooke, of Westminster,
Edward Cooke, of Westminster,
Philip Wentworth, of Cotton, Suffolk,
Anthony Fletcher, of Cockermouth, Cumberland,
Thomas Thomkins, of city of London,
John Lillie,¹ of city of London,
Thomas Smith, of Framlingham, Suffolk,
Admitted by *Henry, Prince of Purpoole*.

Forters *Regist. Adm. to Gray's Inn*, page 87.

The panegyric given in the *Gesta Grayorum* to our *Prince of Purpoole* gives us a glimpse of his virtues and courtly graces. Truly this Gray's Inn youth who could fight at Barriers with the Earls of Essex and Cumberland, and *win the prize* which the Queen delivered to him "with her own hands," is worthy of our admiration. I have reason to believe that he was related to the Yelvertons. Camden in his *Britannia* says:

"Rougham the Seat of the Yelvertons, of whom William under Hen. 6, Christopher under Queen Elizabeth, and Henry under Charles I."

I assume Henry Helmes was a youth of large means and that he contributed a considerable sum toward these Gray's Inn Sports and Revels.

A branch of the Yelvertons family resided in Roug-

¹*Query*—The poet?

ham, Norfolk, of whom William Yelverton, Esq., of Gray's Inn was the head. Two of his sons were members of Gray's Inn—William admitted October 17, 1608, and Henry, second son, admitted February 2, 1611. Foster's *Regist. Adm. Gray's Inn*.

The variant for Helmes is Holmes, and I find in Baynes' *History of Eastern England* (Vol. II, page 55) the following connection between the Holmes and Yelvertons:

THE FAMILY OF THE YELVERTONS

The first of this family that began to purchase and raise an estate at Yelverton in the Hundred of Henstead was William Yelverton, and Mabel his wife, who in 1398 purchased lands of Richard de la Rokele, which till then belonged to Rokele's manor in Trowse. In 1317 he purchased more lands of Roger de Walsham and Thomas de Langhale. About 1322 John de Yelverton purchased the manor of Yelverton and advowson of Sir Oliver Wythe. In 1345 Robert de Yelverton, his son, held it of the said Oliver, and he of the Norfolk family. In 1391 John de Yelverton and wife had all the Yelverton estates. In 1444 William Yelverton, justice of the King's Bench, owned it, and in 1462 his commission was renewed, and again in 1471. In 1499 William Yelverton, jun., had the estate at his father's death. He died intestate in 1518, and James Holmes administered in right of his wife Ann, sister and heir of the deceased. In 1551, Ann Holmes, their daughter, held Yelverton Hall, and left it to William Holmes, her son and heir, and it was afterwards sold to the family of the Rants, who flourished for some time in this part of Norfolk.

In 1589 Christopher Yelverton in his farewell address to the members of Gray's Inn "speaks of his ancestors being of the House 200 years at the least."

Douthwaite's Gray's Inn.

Christopher Yelverton wrote the *Epilogue* to Gascoigne's *Jocasta* and aided Bacon and others in *The Misfortunes of Arthur*. The Bacon's and Yelverton's married with the family of the Lords Gray of Ruthen.

The *Gesta Grayorum* says:

"For the present her Majesty graced every one; particularly, she thanked his Highness for the good performance of all that was done, and wished that their sports had continued longer, for the pleasure she took therein, which may well appear from her answer to the Courtiers, who danced a measure immediately after the mask was ended, saying, 'What! shall we have bread and cheese after a banquet?'"

"Her Majesty willed the Lord Chamberlain that the gentlemen should be invited on the next day, and that he should present them unto her. Which was done, and her Majesty gave them her hand to kiss, with most gracious words of commendations to them particularly, and in general of Gray's Inn, as an House she was much beholden unto, for that it did always study for some sorts to present unto her."

"That same night there was fighting at barriers, the Earl of Essex and others challengers, and the Earl of Cumberland and his company defendants, into which number our Prince was taken, and behaved himself so valiantly and skillfully herein that he had the prize adjudged due

unto him, which it pleased her Majesty to deliver him with her own hands, telling him, 'That it was not her gift; for if it had, it should have been better; but she gave it him as that prize which was due to his desert and good behavior in those exercises, and that hereafter he should be remembered with a better reward from herself.' The price was a jewel set with seventeen diamonds and four rubies, in value accounted worth an hundred marks."

But Elizabeth's "better reward" did not materialize as usual.

Nine years later our charming *Prince of Purpoole*, Sir Henry Helmes of Norfolk, was knighted by King James I, July 23rd, 1603, at Whitehall.

Nichols *James I*, Vol. I, p. 216.

Our *Prince of Purpoole* on the 1st of February rode through the main streets of London with one hundred of his Knights "very gallantly appointed," the most on "great horses" and the rest on very "choice geldings." In front of St. Paul's School the Prince was entertained with the following oration made by one of the boy scholars and delivered in Latin.¹ A translation is here given:

"It may perhaps be out of place, most Renowned *Prince of Portpoole*, before so great a majesty of yours to hold a discourse at so unseasonable a time, for I barely dare to hope that you, who bear so great a personage, and your retinue of courtiers, after great victories gained on land and sea, should halt for a boy's utterance right in a celebration of the most elaborate triumph. But through the condescension always

¹Gesta Grayorum, p. 73.

extolled in the greatest prince, may I be permitted to offer to your Highness passing by the loyalty of our Learning and this congratulation of mine, such as it is, after your return from Russia as famous and triumphant and spread through all the world to have it attested in this discourse of mine for all the nobles. For although my discourse escapes me suddenly and is dazed as it were before so great a majesty—still a more earnest congratulation and one more replete with dutiful affection for noble virtues, cannot certainly be advanced.

Do you not see that the community itself, dislodged as it were from its abodes, is advancing to congratulate so great a prince? What do you think this entire assembly is entertaining in thought? On whose features and mien do you think the eyes of all are directed? What feelings of our friends do you reciprocate? What do we desire? What do we wish? What do we do? Is it not to express our wishes as much as congratulate you on your victories? What wonder, then, if a school, even our own, emulous of noble virtues, is eager to pay tribute to most renowned victories and triumphs?

Continue, therefore, and continue with the best auspices, most famous Prince, return to your palace of *Purtpoole*. The Oracle of the Gray's, in which as by the prophetic voice of the Delphian Apollo all differences are settled.

As to invading the Spaniard, common foe of all princes, do you deliberate. How easily will your sword now dripping with the blood of the Tartans especially, if you should take the *Templars*, associated with you by ancient treaty, into the alliance of a new war (how easily) will your sword thrust back the drawn swords of all

others and dash away their shields? Let the Spaniards burst with envy as the sides of Cedrus (an illusion to Virgil's *Eclogues VII* 26). Meanwhile indeed our Muses will both applaud your past victories and will entreat the ancient Pallas of the Grays, that she may put her own helmet on the now a second Agamemnon who has many Achilles and Ulysses as your companions, and protect you with her shield and banner, and after routing and defeating all your foes preserve you forever."

There was in this *Order of the Helmet* an intentionally symbolic meaning, not yet fully solved. Although the ancient Pallas of the Gray's had put her own Helmet on the Prince and his Knights, the wisdom gained thereby did not make them eschew the charms of beauty, as the following words prove.¹

"As I am rightful Prince, and true Sovereign of the honourable *Order of the Helmet*, and by all those Ladies whom, in Knightly honour I love and serve, I will make the name of a *Grayan Knight* more dreadful to the Barbarian Tartars, than the Macedonian to the wearied Persians, the Romans to the dispersed Britain's, or the Castalian to the weakened Indians. Gentle Ladies, be now benign and gracious to your Knights, that never pleased themselves but when their service pleased you; that for your sakes shall undertake hard adventures, that will make your names and beauties most famous, even in foreign regions. Let your favour kindle the vigour of their spirits, wherewith they abound; for they are the men by whom your fame, your honour, your virtue, shall be for ever advanced, protected and admired."

¹Gesta Grayorum, p. 68.

We must bear in mind that the Ladies whom the *Prince of Purpoole* so honored, loved, and served, were the women of Shakespeare.

The women of Elizabeth's Court inspired the Poet who immortalized them under the names of *Portia, Juliet, Rosalind, Ophelia, Cordelia, Isabel, Silvia*, etc. Not in Stratford, not in Silver or Monkwell Streets did he find his heroines, but at the Court, the Inns of Court, and in the Houses of the great men of his time. These fair women were clothed with the "seemly beauty" of the poet's own heart and brain. At Gray's Inn Shakespeare had seen how

"His Highness called for the Master of the Revels, and willed him to pass the time in dancing: So his gentlemen—pensioners and attendants, very gallantly appointed, in thirty couples, danced the old measures, and their galliards, and other kinds of dances, revelling until it was very late; and so spent the rest of their performance in those exercises."

In the Ladies Masque in *Timon, Act I, Sce. 2*, we are reminded of the *Gesta Grayorum*.

"The Lords rise from Table, with much adorning of TIMON; and, to show their loves, each singles out an Amazon, and all dance, Men with Women, a lofty Strain or two to the Hautboys, and cease."

Tim. You have done our pleasures much grace, fair ladies,
Set a fair fashion on our entertainment,
Which was not half so beautiful and kind:
You have added worth unto't, and lustre,
And entertain'd me with mine own device;
I am to thank you for it.

I *Lady*. My lord, you take us ever at the best. . . .

Tim. Ladies, there is an idle banquet Attends you: please you to dispose yourselves.

All Lad. Most thankfully, my lord.

The *Prince of Purpoole* advised the *Knights of the Helmet* to read the modern writers, and to visit the Theatre:

"*Item*, every Knight of this Order shall endeavour to add conference and exrience (sic) by reading; and therefore shall not only read and peruse *Guizo*, *the French Academy*, *Galiat* to the *Courtier*, *Plutarch*, the *Arcadia*, and the *Noeterical Writers*, from time to time; but also frequent the *Theatre*, and such like places of experience; and resort to the better sort of ordinaries for conference; whereby they may not only become accomplished with civil conversations, and able to govern a table with discourse; but also sufficient, if need be, to make epigrams, emblems, and other devices, appertaining to his Honour's learned revels."¹

Guizo (*Stufano*) the first writer mentioned above published his *La Civil Conversatione*, etc., in 1574. In 1586 the first English translation appeared under the following title:

"The Civile Conversation divided into foure bookes, the first three translated out of French by G. Pettie, in the first is contained in generall the fruits that may be reaped by Conversation, and teaching how to know good companie from ill, in the second the manner of conversation, meete for all persons . . . in the third is particularlie set forth the orders to be observed in

¹Gesta Grayorum. p. 39.

Conversation within doores . . . in the fourth is set downe the forme of Civile Conversations, by an example of a Banquet, made in Cassale, betweene sixe Lords and foure Ladies, and now translated out of Italian into English by Barth. Young of the Middle Temple.

Imprinted at London by Thomas East, 1586.

It is said Shakespeare was familiar with this work.

The French Academy by *Primaudaye*, is referred to by Hunter in his Notes on *Hamlet* and "*The Merchant of Venice*." This book was also translated into English in 1586, as follows:

The French Academie Fully Discoursed and finished in foure Bookes. Newly translated into English by T. B.

Imprinted at London, by Edmund Bollivant, 1586.

The third book, *The Courtier*, was translated into English in 1566 by Bacon's uncle, Sir Thomas Hoby.

The *Arcadia* may have been Sir Philip Sidney's work, or by Sanazarus.

The following compliment is then paid to the Queen by the *Prince of Purpoole*:

"Lastly, all the Knights of this honourable Order, and the renowned Sovereign of the same, shall yield all homage, loyalty, unaffected admiration, and all humble service, of what name or condition soever, to the incomparable Empress of the Fortunate Island."¹

The names of the succeeding gentlemen who *acted* in the *Gesta Grayorum*, were Francis Bacon's kinsmen,

¹*Gesta Grayorum*, p. 41.

or related by marriage to his family. Fitzwilliam, Cooke, Kempe, Cecil, Drewry, Davison, Wentworth, Dandye, Moseley.

William Cooke, the Captain of the *Gentlemen Pensioners*, was Bacon's cousin, and married the daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote in 1594 (See Bacon's letter to Sir Thomas Lucy, p. 60). This letter was written after Coke became Attorney General, 10 April 1594. The writer believes that the youth, Francis Bacon, when visiting his kinsmen, the Cookes, at Harts-hill, in the Forest of Arden, met William Shakespeare somewhere in the forest.

Rowe, his first biographer, tells us:

"He had, by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company, and amongst them some that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing, engaged him more than once in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, near Stratford. For this he was prosecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely; and, in order to revenge that ill usage, he made a ballad upon him. This, probably, the first essay of his poetry, is said to have been so very bitter, that it redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree, that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warwickshire, for some time, and shelter himself in London."

Let Shakespeare lead us into the Forest of Arden, where Bacon must have often wandered in his youth, and, like Jaques, mused in a "most humorous sadness."

AS YOU LIKE IT (ACT IV, Sce. II)

Another part of the Forest.

Enter Jacques and Lords, in the habit of Foresters.

Jaq. Which is he that killed the deer?

First Lord. Sir, it was I.

Jaq. Let's present him to the duke, like a Roman conqueror; and it would do well to set the deer's horns upon his head, for a branch of victory:—Have you no song, forester, for this purpose?

Second Lord. Yes, sir.

Jaq. Sing it; 't is no matter how it be in tune, so it make noise enough.

SONG.

1. What shall he have that kill'd the deer?

2. His leather skin, and horns to wear.

Take thou no scorn, to wear the horn,
It was a crest ere thou wast born.

1. Thy father's father wore it;

2. And thy father bore it;

All. The horn, the horn, the lusty horn,
Is not a thing to laugh to scorn.

The *Gesta Grayorum* does not mention Shakespeare's name, but there is perhaps a parody on it in a letter dated January 5, 1594-5:¹

A Letter of Advertisement from Knightsbridge, to the Honourable Council:

"I beseech your Honours to advertise his Highness, that in his Excellency's Canton of Knightsbridge there do haunt certain foreigners, that seize upon all passengers, taking from them by force their goods, under pretence, that,

¹*Gesta Grayorum*, p. 63.

being merchant strangers, and using traffic into his Highness's territories of Clerkenwell, Islington, and elsewhere, they have been robbed of their goods, spoiled of their wares; whereby they were utterly undone: and that his Honour, of his good will, hath been pleased to grant them Letters of Reprisal, to recover their loss of them that come next to their hands: by colour whereof, they lay hold of all that pass by, without respect. Some of their names, as I understand, are, *Johannes Shagbag*, Robertus Untruss, James Rapax, alias Capax."

Johannes Shagbag reminds one of "*Johannes*" and "*Shakescene*." Were he present on these Grand Nights, he must have enjoyed the reference to deer hunting "in other men's Parks." Although the *Prince of Purpoole* pardoned nearly every offence under the sun he expected deer stealing as follows:

"*Except*, all such persons as shall hunt in the night, or pursue any bucks or does; or with painted faces, vizards, or other disguisings, in the day-time; or any such as do wrongfully and unlawfully, without consent or leave given or granted, by day or night, break or enter into any park impailed, or other several close, inclosure, chace, or purview, inclosed or compassed with wall, pale, grove, hedge, or bushes, used still and occupied for the keeping, breeding, or cherishing of young deer, prickets, or any other game, fit to be preserved and nourished; or such as do hunt, chase, or drive out any such deer, to the prejudice and decay of such game and past-times within our dominions."

"*Except*, all such persons as shall shoot in any hand gun, demyhag, or hag butt, either half-

shot, or bullet, any fowl, bird, or beast; either at any deer, red or fallow, or any other thing or things, except it be a butt set, laid, or raised in some convenient place, fit for the same purpose."

"*Except*, all and every artificer, crafts-man, labourer, householder, or servant, being a lay-man, which hath not lands to the yearly value of forty shillings; or any clerk, not admitted or advanced to the benefice of the value of ten pounds per annum, that with any grey-hound, mongrel, mastiff, spaniel, or other dogs, doth hunt in other men's parks, warrens, and coney-grees; or use any ferrets, hare-pipes, snarles, ginns, or other knacks or devises, to take or destroy does, hares, or coneys, or other gentlemen's game, contrary to the form and meaning of a statute in that case provided."

The few known facts of Shakespeare's personal history, have led his biographers to whole folios of conjecture. He lived in umbra and is the greatest wonder, and the most mysterious "Figure" * in all literature. The great historical dramas, and delightful comedies came out anonymously and were the admiration of the most eminent poets of his own day, many of whom lauded the author with unstinted praise, but not under his own name.

Edmund Spencer calls him *Action*—an Eagle—1591. Thomas Nashe, fired with enthusiasm over his *Henry the VI*, in 1592 writes:

"How would it have joyed brave *Talbot* (the terror of the French) to think that after he had lyne two hundred yeares in his Tombe, he should

*"This Figure that thou here seest put."

triumphe againe on the Stage, and have his bones newe embalmed with the teares of ten thousand Spectators at least, (at several times) who in the Tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding."

In this same "*Pierce Pennilesse*," 1592, Nashe also praises Edward Alleyn:

"Not Roscius nor Esope, those tragedians admired before Christ was borne, could ever performe more in action than famous Ned Allen."

This leads me to think Alleyn was the Tragedian who played Talbot, so to the life. "*Pierce Pennilesse*" may have been read by Robert Green before it was printed, and this high praise by Nashe added fuel to the bitter envy felt by Greene against the genius of Shakespeare, to whom he alludes in his "*Grotes worth of Wit*," 1592, under the name of *Shakescene*," i. e., a property man about the stage. Chettle is supposed to allude to Shakespeare in his "*Kinde-Hearts Dream*" December, 1592, as follows:

"Myselfe hath seene his demeanor no less civill than he excellent in the qualitie he professes; besides divers of worship have reported, his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves his Art."

All this is written about an unnamed author. Chettle had not *seen* his writing, but "divers of worship" had "reported" all this and Chettle bowed to their authority. Chettle had only seen his "*demeanor*."

It is because it is so rare, that we treasure every crumb of evidence that falls from the pens of Shakespeare's

contemporaries. Whoever the unnamed author was, he was backed or supported by "divers of worship" as early as 1592.

Therefore when the *Comedy of Errors* was performed at Gray's Inn, the author's name was not mentioned. His name first appeared on a play, *Love's Labors Lost*, in 1598. My opinion is that the *Comedy of Errors* was especially written for its production at Gray's Inn on December 28, 1594.

Meres mentions it for the first time in 1598 in *Paladis Tamia*, where he merely calls it "*Errors*." It was first printed in the *Folio* of 1623. It will be remembered that the night on which the *Comedy of Errors* was played by "a Company of base and common fel- lowes" "was ever after called the night of *Errors*" by the members of Gray's Inn.

In his Essay on Friendship, Bacon says:—"If a man hath not a friend he may quit the stage," and I firmly believe when the friendless young Shakespeare fled from Stratford to London, Bacon took him under his wing and sheltered him. Without this shelter he would have been classed as a vagabond or a masterless man. It is a coincidence that the first record we have of his connection with players is with the Lord Chamberlaines servants, *on the very date on which the Comedy of Errors was performed at Gray's Inn*, and is as follows:

"To William Kempe, William Shakespeare and Richard Burbage, servants to the Lord Chamberleyne, upon the Councelles warrant dated at Whitehall xv. to Marcij, 1594, for twoe severall comedies or enterludes shewed by them

before her Majestie in Christmas tyme laste paste, viz., upon St. Stephen's daye and Innocentes daye, xiiijli. vjs. viijd., and by waye of her Majesties rewarde, vijli. xiijs. iiijd., in all xxli."

This was recorded in the accounts of the treasurer of the Chamber and printed by Hallwill Phillipps in the 6th Ed. of his *Outlines* 1, 109.

The *Comedy of Errors* was performed at Gray's Inn on "*Innocents Day at Night*," December 28, 1594. And from this date Shakespeare wore the livery of the Lord Chamberlain's men.

Sir Henry Carey, the first Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, was Elizabeth's first cousin. It was by his courtesy the actors were permitted to play the "*Comedy of Errors*" in Gray's Inn Hall.

Two years after this, in 1596, it is thought Bacon wrote the following letter from Gray's Inn to the Earl of Shrewesbury:

"It may please your good Lordship,

I am sorry the joint masque from the four Inns of Court faileth; wherein I conceive there is no other ground of that event but impossibility. Nevertheless, because it falleth out that at this time Grey's Inn is well furnished of gallant young gentlemen, your lordship may be pleased to know, that rather than this occasion shall pass without some demonstration of affection from the Inns of Court, there are a dozen gentlemen of Grey's Inn, that out of the honour which they bear to your Lordship and my Lord Chamberlain to whom at their last masque they were so much bounden, will be ready to furnish a masque; wishing it were in their powers to per-

form it according to their minds. And so for the present I humbly take my leave, resting

Your Lordship's very humble and much bounden,

FR. BACON."

I conjecture that "their last masque" referred to in this letter was a part of the *Gesta Grayorum*, and the letter shows Bacon's appreciation of the Lord Chamberlain's courtesy in allowing his servants to perform a *Comedy of Errors*.

Spedding comments on this letter as follows:

"The next is the original found among the Burghley papers in the Lansdown collection, and was probably addressed to the first Lord Burghley though the address has disappeared with the flyleaf, and the docket does not supply it. If so, it must have been written before the autumn of 1598, but it seems impossible to determine on what occasion. I do not remember to have met with any report of a projected masque by the four Inns of Court united. But I find that on the 15th of October, 1596, Bacon wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury from Grey's Inn, "to borrow a horse and armour for some public shew"; and this may possibly have reference to the same. Occasions of the kind occurred frequently, and though small things sometimes serve to illustrate things of importance, it is not very likely that anything would be gained by ascertaining the particulars of the "demonstration of affection" here proposed.

'*Letters and Life of Bacon*,' Vol II, p. 370."

"Small things" do indeed "sometimes serve to illustrate things of importance." Were it not for the *Gesta*

Grayorum, which was sold for a shilling on its publication in 1688, we would never have known that Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* was "played by the players" in Gray's Inn, December 28, 1594.

It may be that some day we will discover where Canning, the printer of the *Gesta Grayorum*, found the original manuscript.

My esteemd friend, the late Bertram Dobell, Poet and Bibliographer, wrote me, March 30, 1911:

"Some day, I feel sure,—or tolerably sure—a copy of the Sonnets in the author's handwriting will turn up * * * I have myself discovered so many remarkable things in manuscripts that I don't even despair of crowning my discoveries by finding this."*

In writing about Shakespeare, conjecture is bound to force itself upon the writer; like Banquo's ghost, it will not down. Therefore if Bacon became an encouraging friend to the youth from Stratford, we can readily understand Shakespeare's rapid advancement,

* The mention of Bertram Dobell's name recalls to mind these lines from one of his *sonnets* in *A Lover's Moods* sent me by their author in March, 1914:

"To prove myself true poet and true lover
Has been my life's devoutly cherished aim,
But all in vain love's secret to discover
I sought, nor dared the laurel wreath to claim:
Now, let the world deny it, or bestow
On me the guerdon of a poet's fame,
I care not, for at last love's power I know,
And poet am since lover I became."

His son, Percy John Dobell in his tender *Memoir* of his father, states that "the proof sheets of this book were corrected and returned, but my father did not live to see a completed copy." The poet passed into the silent land December 14, 1915.

which caused Greene to call him an "upstart crow." Bacon's influence was sufficient to place Shakespeare among the Lord Chamberlain's men, who were the leading company and allowed to play before the Queen and at Court. The fact is that Shakespeare's plays were written exclusively for the Court, and his plays were controlled entirely by the Lord Chamberlain and his deputy, Edmund Tilney, the Master of the Revels. Sir George Buc had acted as Tilney's deputy for sometime before the latter's death. Chalmers in his *Supplemental Apology*, p. 200, says:

"The following plays licensed by Sir George Bucke, as appeared by the Stationers Registers: 26 November (1607) Mr. William Shakspeare his Historie of Kinge Leare; as it was played before the King's Majestie at Whitehall upon St. Stephens night at Christmas last, by his Majesties Servants, playing usually at the Globe on the Bankside.

And 20 May 1607-8, "The Booke of Pericles Prynce of Tyre

3 June, Anthony and Cleopatra

6 Oct. 1621, The Tragedie of Othello."

Sir George Buc was a friend of Camden's, who in his *Britannia* says:

"That person of excellent learning, Sir George Buc Knight, Master of the Revels, who (for I love to own my Benefactor's) has remarked many things in our Histories and courteously communicated his observations."

Buc was very learned and a member of the Middle Temple. The Master of the Revels, Edmund Tilney,

in 1610, was succeeded by Sir George Buc, who was his nephew, and when Buc resigned in 1622, Sir Henry Herbert (a Kinsman of the two incomparable brothers to whom the first *Folio* was dedicated in 1623) became the Master of the Revels and retained the office for fifty years. All the noblemen and gentlemen named in connection with Shakespeare's plays were friends (some of them Kinsmen) to Francis Bacon.

The Tilney's, Buc's, and Bacon's, married into the Buer family. Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery and Pembroke, to whom jointly with his brother, the first *Folio* was dedicated, married Bacon's cousin, Susan Vere, daughter of the 17th Earl of Oxford, in 1605. This gentlewoman's mother was Bacon's first cousin, Anne Cecil, the daughter of his Aunt Mildred, wife of William Cecil, the great Lord Burleigh, who was Elizabeth's Lord Treasurer for forty years.

It does not seem to me rash to say that I believe the Shakespeare dramas were guarded by three of the greatest families in England—the Stanley's, the Carey's, and the Herbert's. Henry Carey, first Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, and his son George, second Lord Hunsdon, also Lord Chamberlain, first controlled them. Bacon's first cousin, Sir Edward Hoby, married Margaret, daughter of Henry Carey, first Lord Hunsdon. Sir Edward Hoby was the son of Bacon's Aunt Elizabeth, who on the death of her first husband, Sir Thomas Hoby, married John Lord Russell, son of the Earl of Bedford.

I found in a *MS.* copy of the *Bisham Register* this entry:

“The Right Honorable Lord John Russell and Renowned Lady Elizabeth Hobbey, 23 Dec. 1574” were married.

I have reason to believe that Thomas Russell, Esq., whom Shakespeare makes one of the overseers to his will, was related to John Lord Russell, the second husband of Bacon's Aunt Elizabeth. Lady Russell, whom the poet Lodge called the “English Sapho” when in 1596 he dedicated to her *A Margarite of America*, like all Sir Anthony Cook's daughters, was greatly accomplished in letters. She lived in a fine residence in the Blackfriars near Shakespeare's property. Queen Elizabeth was there present on the marriage of her daughter Anne to Lord Herbert, the Earl of Worcester's son, in 1600.

In 1593 Lodge wrote his *Margarite of America*.

The Hoby family were his intimate friends. Wood says, “Lodge was a servitor or scholar under the learned Mr. Edward Hoby of Trinity College.” He was at College with the sons of Lord Hunsdon also, by whom he was esteemed. His sweetness of temper may be judged when Shakespeare appropriated the plot of his *Rosalynde* for *As You Like It*. Lodge never railed against it or envied him as his associate Greene did. In 1589 Lodge and Greene had worked together on a play.

If, as I am convinced, Bacon shielded Shakespeare, Lodge, who was on the closest terms of friendship with Bacon's relations, the Hoby's, the Russell's, the Stanley's, and the Carey's, there is good reason why he did not complain when Shakespeare purloined his plot of *Rosalynde* entire. Although he did not publicly ac-

cuse Shakespeare for using his plot, he omits his name when (in his *Wit's Miserie and the World's Madnesse*) he writes of the divine wits and poets of his day, as follows:

“Lilly, the famous for facility in discourse; Spencer, best read in ancient poetry; Daniel, choice in word and invention; Draiton, diligent and formall; Th. Nash, true English; Aretine.”

Perhaps Lodge took some little pleasure in alluding to Shakespeare's voice in his *Wit's Miserie and the World's Madnesse*, 1596, where he refers to Hamlet as follows: “The visard of ye ghost which cried so miserably at ye Theator, like an aister wife, ‘Hamlet, revenge’”.

Nicholas Rowe, who wrote the first Life of Shakespeare, tells us, although he searched diligently to ascertain what were the characters Shakespeare acted on the stage, he could only learn that he had “*acted the ghost in his own Hamlet*.” We know Shakespeare was not a great actor like Richard Burbage or Edward Alleyn. Surely Lodge was one of the best informed of Shakespeare's contemporaries and his authority on the “visard of ye ghost” in *Hamlet*, crying “so miserably at the Theator” may be regarded as a first hand criticism of Shakespeare's acting, it seems to me.

During the *Gesta Grayorum* time, William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby, married, on Jan. 26, 1594, Francis Bacon's cousin, daughter of the 17th Earl of Oxford.

This Earl of Derby is said to have written plays and he, like other nobles of his rank, had his own company of players. To him the poet Thomas Lodge dedicated “*A Fig for Momus*” as follows:

To the Right Honorable
and thrice renowned Lord, William
Earle of Darbie:

T. L. his most humble and deuoted seruant,
wisheth all health and happines.

My honoured good Lord, hauing resolved with my selfe to publish certaine my poems, and knowing them subject to much preiudice, except they were graced with some noble and worthie patron: I haue followed the example of *Metabo*, king of the *Volschi*, who desirous to deliuer his onelie daughter from all perill and danger, consecrated and dedicated hir to the sister of the sunne. So I no lesse carefull of my labors, then the king of his *Camilla*, with deliberate and aduised iudgement, wholly deuote and offer vp my poems to your fauour and protection: who being the true *Maecenas* of the *Muses*, and iudiciall in their exercises, are of power to relieue my weaknes, by your worthines, and to priuiledge me from enuie, though she were prest to deuoure me: If midst your generall fauour to all desert, your honour vouchsafe this particular benefite to my industrie, no day, or time, (as *Tully* counsaileth) shall define the memorie of your benefits, but as your noble father in mine infancie, with his owne hands incorporated me into your house, so in this my retired age and studie, my labour, lines, and whole life, shall be employed to doe your honour and service.

Your Lordships most bounden in all humilitie,

THOMAS LODGE.

Hunterian Club, Volume C, VRRC.

The following is Lodge's dedication to Bacon's Aunt Lady Russell:

To the noble, learned and vertuous ladie, the
Ladie Russell, T. L. wisheth affluence on earth
and felicitie in heaven.

MADAM, your deep and considerate judgement, your admired honor and happy readings, have drawne me to present this labor of mine to your gracious hands and favorable patronage: wherein, though you shall find nothing to admire, yet doubt I not but you may meet many things that deserve cherishing. Touching the subject, though of it selfe it seeme historicall, yet if it please you like our English Sapho to look into that which I have slenderly written, I doubt not but that your memory shal acquaint you with my diligence, and my diligence may deserve your applause. Touching the place where I wrote this, it was in those straits christned by Magelan; in which place to the southward many wonderous isles, many strange fishes, many monstrous Patagones withdrew my sense; briefly, many bitter and extreme frosts at midsummer continually clothe and clad the discomfortable mountains; so that as there was great wonder in the place wherein I writ this, so likewise might it be marvelled, that in such scantie fare, such causes of feare, so mightie discouragements, and many crosses, I should deserve or eternize any thing. Yet what I have done (good Madame), judge and hope this felicitie from my pen, that whilst the memorie thereof shal live in any age, your charitie, learning, nobilitie and vertues, shall be eternized. Oppian, writing to Theodosius, was as famous by the person to whome hee consecrated his study, as fortunate in his

labours, which as yet are not mastered by oblivion; so hope I (Madame), on the wing of your sacred name to be borne to the temple of eternitie, where, though envie barke at me, the Muses shall cherish, love, and happie me. Thus hoping your ladship will supply my boldnesse with your bountie and affabilitie, I humbly kisse your most delicate handes, shutting up my English duety under an Italian copie of humanitie and curtesie. From my house, this 4. of Maie, 1596.

Your honors in all zeale,

T. LODGE.

This was edited by James O. Halliwell, London, 1859, with Title page as follows:

A MARGARITE OF AMERICA. By T. LODGE. *Printed for John Busbie, and are to be sold in S. Dunstons church-yard in Fleet-street, at the little shop next Cliffords Inne.* 1596.

In April, 1593, William Shakespeare's name for the first time appeared in print, appended to a dedication to what the poet called "the first heir of my invention," or his first poem, *Venus and Adonis*. This dedication was addressed to Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, who had just become of age, and was a member of Gray's Inn.

Bacon's uncle, Lord Burghley, had been his guardian and had sent him to Cambridge to be educated in 1585. If the child is father to the man, this young lord must have been a born cynic, for at the age of thirteen he wrote a composition in Latin, which he sent to Burghley, entitled, "All men are moved to the pursuit of virtue by the hope of reward." (*D. N. B.*) From what I

know of his character I should say he was rather over-estimated by the writers of that age and of a sullen and morose disposition. Bacon may have brought Shakespeare in touch with this young Earl thinking to form his taste for the best in literature, for Southampton was infatuated with plays, and as Shakespeare had not deigned to put his name in print on a play, he may have hoped to win him from them to other studies. The title page of *Venus and Adonis* was without the poet's name, but it bore the following Latin Motto from Ovid:

*"Vilia miretur vulgus; mihi flavus Apollo
Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua"*

or:

*"Let common folk marvel at cheap things. Let
blonde Apollo Serve me cups brimming with
Castalian lymph."*

I see in these lines a gently veiled admonition to the young Earl, to flee from and avoid common plays, which the crowd marvelled at and applauded. Shakespeare no longer spoke from "under mimic shade" and for the time being had cast off his "despised weed" or dress of an actor and dramatist. He acknowledged his brain child *Venus and Adonis* as his "heir," as if his poems were paramount in his esteem. His second poem, *Lucrece*, came out in May, 1594, with William Shakespeare's name again appended to a dedication to the same Earl of Southampton.

In 1593 "the Societies of Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple" both held their Autumn Pensions in St. Albans. No readings were held in Gray's Inn in 1593, and during this year and 1594 Francis Bacon was indisposed and attended very few of the Pensions.

During all this leisure time he could have brought his young friend, the Earl of Southampton, and Shakespeare in touch. Without the authority of Bishop Whitgift, who had been Bacon's tutor at Cambridge, *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* could not have been published.

Sir Thomas Heneage, a member of Gray's Inn and Bacon's good friend, was Vice Chamberlain to the Queen. He married the young Earl of Southampton's mother this very month, on 2nd of May, 1594. Sir Thomas Heneage was made Vice Chamberlain 7th September, 1587.¹ He was a genial gentleman with a lovable disposition and had much influence at Court and among the stage poets. In fact he had control over plays and players in the absence of the Lord Chamberlain. If Bacon was Shakespeare's friend, his influence would help in making Sir Thomas Heneage a well-wisher to the poet, but nothing has come down to us to enlighten us on this point.

Prior to giving the *Masque* at Greenwich before the Queen, the following letter was sent to Sir Thomas Heneage:

Henry Prince of Purpoole to the Right Honourable Sir *Thomas Heneage*.

"Most Honourable Knight,

"I have now accomplished a most tedious and hazardous journey, though very honourable, into *Russia*; and returning within the view of the Court of your renowned Queen, my gracious Sovereign, to whom I acknowledge homage and service, I thought good, in passing by, to kiss her sacred hands, as a tender of the zeal and duty I owe unto her Majesty; but, in making the offer,

¹Stowe's Chronicle, p. 367.

I found my desire was greater than the ability of my body; which, by length of my journey, and my sickness at sea, is so weakened, as it were very dangerous for me to adventure it. Therefore, most honourable friend, let me intreat you to make my humble excuse to her Majesty for this present: and to certifie her Highness, that I do hope, by the assistance of the Divine Providence, to recover my former strength about Shrovetide; at which time I intend to repair to her Majesty's Court (if it may stand with her gracious pleasure) to offer my service, and relate the success of my journey. And so praying your Honour to return me her Majesty's answer, I wish you all honour and happiness.

"Dated from ship-board, at our *Ark of Vanity*,
the 1st of February 1594."

Those who know Bacon's style will recognize it in this epistle. In a letter of his to the Queen he dated it from "My Tub. of Vanity."

That Southampton did not appreciate the mind of Shakespeare is apparent. In 1598 the Earl of Southampton accompanied Bacon's cousin, Sir Robert Cecil, to France. He was at this period in love with the Queen's maid of honor, Elizabeth Vernon, who had retired from Court and was domiciled for the time being at Essex house. That prince of letter writers, John Chamberlain, wrote to Carleton, 30th August, 1598:

"It is bruted under hand, that he [Southampton] was latelie here foure dayes in greate secrete of purpos to marry her, and effected it accordingly."

Chamberlain Letters, Camden Soc., p. 18.

Three months later, 8th November 1598, the same to the same, writes:

“The new Countess of Southampton is brought a bed of a daughter.”¹
and twenty-two days later the same writer to the same:

“The Earl of Southampton is come home, and for his welcome committee to the Fleet, but I hear he is already upon his delivery.”

Elizabeth Vernon was first cousin to the Queen’s favorite, Robert, Earl of Essex, and distantly related to Sir Thomas Lucy’s wife.

The following letter from the Countess of Southampton to her husband from “Chartly, 8th July,” is of Shakespearian interest:

“Al the nues I can send you that I thinke wil make you mery is that I reade in a letter from London that Sir John Falstaf is by his Mrs. Dame Pintpot, made father of a godly milers thumb, a boye all heade and veri litel body; but this is a secret.”²

This leads me to think there was among their friends some very portly gentleman whom they nicknamed Sir John Falstaff, or that the gentleman bore in his coat of Arms what is called in Heraldry a *Chalbot* known by the name of *Miller’s thumb*.

This broad head fish was sometimes called a *Gull*. In *Hen. V.* 11.2 we find:

‘Tis a gull, a fool, a rogue, that now and then goes to the wars.

¹Ibid, p. 27.

²Hist. MSS. Comm., p. 148.

The Countess of Southampton's reference was to
1 *Hen. I V.* 11., where the Hostess of the Boars Head,
convulsed with mirth, exclaims:

O rare! he doth it as like one of those harlotry
players as ever I see.

and Falstaf retorts:

Peace, good pint-pot; peace good tickle brain.

I believe *Love's Labours Lost* was written to celebrate the marriage of the Earl of Southampton, who hurried back from France to marry the lady whom he had placed in a delicate condition. It will be remembered that the Earl of Southampton accompanied Bacon's cousin Robert Cecil, Elizabeth's secretary, to Paris at this very time, and that the politics of France would be fresh in his mind. And a year after Southampton's release from the Tower in 1604 this comedy of *Love's Labours Lost* was performed before Queen Anne at Southampton's own house in the Strand, indicating that the Earl and his wife had a special liking for this play, which I conjecture was written to celebrate their marriage. The writer's or gossip's of the Court tell us Southampton delighted in the drama, and with Essex, in 1598, attended plays daily.

I repeat I believe the *Comedy of Errors* was purposely designed as a portion of the "*Law Sports*" at Gray's Inn, and I partly base my belief on the following reasons:

Lord Campbell said Shakespeare was familiar "with some of the most abstruce proceedings in English jurisprudence." If Bacon was interested in Shakespeare

could he not have taught him all this? I really think Robert Greene in his slur on "*Johannes Factotum*" aimed a double blow and struck at the *name* and fame of Bacon as well as at "*Shake-scene*."

In the *Comedy of Errors*, *Act II*, *Sc. 2*, we have the dialogue between Antipholus and his man Dromio:

Dro. S. There' no time for a man to *recover* his hair, that grows bald by nature.

Ant. S. May he not do it by *fine and recovery*?

Dro. S. Yes, to pay a *fine* for a periwig, and *recover* the lost hair of another man.

In *Act IV*, *Sc. 2*, Adriana asks Dromio of Syracuse:

"Where is thy master, Dromio? Is he well?"

and Dromio replies:

"No, he's in Tartar limbo, worse than hell:
A devil in an everlasting garment hath him,
One whose hard heart is button'd up with steel;
A fiend, a fairy, pitless and rough;
A wolf, nay worse, a fellow all in buff;
A back-friend, a shoulder-clapper, one that
 countermands
The passages and alleys, creeks and narrow
 lands:
A hound that runs counter, and yet draws dry-
 foot well;
One that *before the judgment* carries poor souls
 to hell."

Adr. Why, man, what is the matter?

Dro S. I do not know the *matter*; he is '*rested on the case*.'

Adr. What, is he arrested? Tell me at whose suit.

Dro. S. I know not at whose *suit* he is arrested, well,

But he's 'in a suit of buff which' rested
him, that can I tell * * *

Adr. * * * This I wonder at:

That he, unknown to me, should be in
debt.

Tell me, was he arrested on a *bond*?

Dro. S. Not on a *bond*, but on a stronger
thing:

A chain, a chain!

Now who could relish this law business better than the Inns of Court men? Many of whom were often in debt and no doubt felt a fellow feeling when *Dromeo* in his malediction called the Sergeant "devil," "fiend," and "wolf," who "carries poor souls to hell." This officer was so dreaded and abhorred that even the dying *Hamlet* utters the pathetic words:

"This fell Sergeant, death, is strict in his arrest."

Anthony Bacon, who returned to England in 1592, after a twelve years' residence in France, must have enjoyed *Act III, Sc. 2*, when one of the Dromios is asked in what part of Luce he could find France, replies:

" . . . In her forehead;

Armed and reverted, making war against her
hair (Heir)."

This was a political hit at King Henry of Navarre, who was Anthony Bacon's friend. The allusion to the civil war in France could only be appreciated by those acquainted with the history and troubles in France at that period. In 1589 Henry of Navarre became the legitimate heir to the throne, but he had to fight his

way through blood to achieve it, and did not succeed in establishing his right until 1593-4. Anthony Bacon possessed more political secrets than any man of his time, outside of his friend, Walsingham, and his kinsmen, the Cecil's. He had spent his life, his fortune (even his jewels) in the service of his country. In return he only received from those from whom he expected most (the Queen and Burleigh)—ingratitude and neglect.

The reader may be familiar with the "*Chain*" allusions in the *Comedy of Errors*.

There is so much made of the "chain" which runs through *Acts II, III, IV and V of the Comedy of Errors*, that my researches lead me to believe that in them a parody is intended, and that it points to that learned Judge, Sir Roger Manwood, a member of the Inner Temple and a friend of Lord Coke's.

In 1561 this gentleman had taken part in the Christmas revels in the Masque of *Palaphilos* at the Middle Temple. Manwood's character was not calculated to win him the friendship of men of honor. Francis Davison no doubt disliked him, for he was one of those who sat on the commission in 1587, which found Secretary Davison "guilty of misprison and contempt." "In 1591 he was detected in the sale of one of the offices in his gift and sharply censured by the Queen." . . . This was but one of several misfeasances of various degrees of gravity with which Manwood was charged." According to Manningham's Diary, "he even stooped to appropriate a gold chain which a goldsmith had placed in his hands for inspection, and on the privy

council intervening by writ at the suit of the goldsmith, returned the scornful answer:

"*Malas causas habentes semper fugiunt ad potentes. Ubi non valet veritas praeualet auctoritas. Currat, lex vivet Rex, and so fare you well my Lords.*" (*D. N. B.*)

That is:

"Those men who have a poor case (not strong legally) always flee to men of honor. Where truth is not strong, prestage carries the day. Good-bye law, long live the King!"

Manningham tells the story thus:

"Lord Chief Baron Manwood, understanding that his sonne had sold his chayne to a goldsmith, sent for the goldsmith, willed him to bring the chayne, enquired where he bought it. He told, in his house. The Baron desired to see it, and put it in his pocket, telling him it was not lawfully bought. The goldsmith sued the Lord, and, fearing the issue would prove against him, obtained the Counsell's letters to the Lord who answered" in the above Latin, "but he was Comitt," says Manningham.

In 1592 Manwood was arraigned before the Privy Council. Bacon's dearest foe, Coke, was a great friend of Manwood's.

Sir Julius Caesar, who for his third wife, married Bacon's niece, was at this time Treasurer of the Inner Temple.

Attorney General Coke had Chambers in the Inner Temple and was one of its most distinguished members. The *Gesta Grayorum* tells us:

"The Lord Ambassador and his train thought that they were not so kindly entertained as was before expected, and thereupon would not stay any longer at that time, but, in a sort discontented and displeased."

It is well known Sir Edward Coke, neither favored poetry nor was ever inspired by it. He bragged that he had succeeded neither by "*pen nor purse*" and no doubt scorned the Gary's Inn law sports and revels, and the satire in the comedy against his colleague, Manwood. As for plays and players Coke had the utmost contempt. In a "*Speech and Charge with the Discoveries of the Abuses and Corruption of Officers*" which he made at Norwich, he said:

"The abuse of stage players, wherewith I find the country much troubled, may easily be reformed. They having no commission to play in any place without leave; and therefore, if by your willingness they be not entertained you may soone be rid of them." (*Printed 1607.*)

In 1599 on the ninth day of his *Morrice* Will Kempe danced into Norwich where he tells us in his *Nine Days Wonder*:

"Master Roger Wiler the Maior, and sundry other of his worshipful Brethren sent for me" and "they not onlly very courteously offered to beare mine owne charges and my followers, but . . . the Mayor, and many of the Aldermen oftentimes besides invited us privately to theyr several houses."

Lord Coke in his speech may have wanted to admonish the Mayor and his Aldermen for their too kindly reception of a player.

I have reason to believe that the Actor Kempe was a member of the family of the Norwich Kempes, and that the Mayor knowing this, honored him the more for that reason.

The younger sons of gentlemen sometimes became players. Nathaniel Field, brother of Bacon's friend Bishop Theophilus Field, was an actor and a play-writer, and is said to have been a Sharer in the Globe Theatre.

Soon after the Globe was built Kempe's one share in it was divided equally between Heminge, and two others.

We learn through Dr. C. W. Wallace that in 1599 Kempe transferred his share in the Globe to a nameless outside party, and that this party "immediately granted it to Shakespeare, Heminge, Phillips, and Pope."

Kempe was the leader of a Company of Players who visited the Court of Denmark in 1586. He could have described *Elsinore* to Shakespeare on his return. The Bacon's were related to the Kempe's of Norwich, some of whom were members of Gray's Inn. It is my belief William Kempe, under the guise of an actor, visited Foreign Courts to glean intelligence for the Court of Elizabeth, and I also believe that the first draft of Shakespeare's Hamlet appeared in 1589. Nashe alludes to "whole hamlets" in 1589, and to "English Seneca," which seems to point at the Inns of Court, especially to Gray's Inn, where *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, a *Senecan* tragedy, was composed by the members in 1587-8.

It is said that whole passages of this play were taken bodily from *Seneca*. The Inns of Court men were devoted to Senecan tragedies. Jasper Heywood, the uncle of the poet Dr. John Donne, was the first who translated three of them into English, and the poet Thomas Lodge has given us another English translation.

Three years after Kempe's visit to the Court of Denmark, that poet courtier and altogether charming gentleman, Sir Edward Dyer, was sent on a diplomatic mission to Denmark in 1589. To this gentleman Sir Philip Sidney willed part of his books in 1586. To Francis Bacon's kinsman, Sir Henry Goodere (who made Drayton a poet), the noble Sidney bequeathed a ring and made him one of the overseers of his will.

It may be inferred that the Author of *Hamlet* could have imbibed from the poet Dyer, and the Actor Kempe, the very atmosphere of *Elsinore*.

In a letter from John Chamberlain to his friend Dudley Carlton, dated June 28, 1599, he writes:

"The Queen is given to understand that he (Essex) has given Essex house to Antonie Bacon, wherewith she is nothing pleased; but as far as I heare it is but in lieu of 2000 l. he meant to bestow upon him, with a clause of redemption for that sum by a day." *Chamberlain's Letters*.
Camb. Society.

I agree with Chamberlain that this act of Essex (if true) was in lieu of money owed to Anthony Bacon, for long and faithful services rendered to the Earl. I think Essex died before he could compensate Anthony, and that he was deeply in debt to his faithful friend, who did not long survive him.

On 27th May, 1601, Chamberlain again writes to Carleton:

“Anthony Bacon died not long since; but so far in debt, that I think his brother is little the better by him.” *Ibid.*

The Earl of Essex was beheaded February 25th, 1601, and the blow was too severe for the friend of his bosom, Anthony Bacon, whose health had been very frail for years. Less than three months after the death of Essex, Anthony followed him to the grave, and was buried on the 17th of May, 1601, ten days before the date of Chamberlain's letter.

Anthony attended the Church of St. Olave, Hart Street, one of the aristocratic churches in London. It was near to Essex house, and the Earl's children were baptized by its minister.

The Bacon tomb was under the altar of this church, and here Anthony set up his everlasting rest. A few days later one of his men (a French man) was interred in the same vault. I made this discovery several years ago, but have unfortunately mislaid my notes so that I cannot give the page and reference *verbatim*.

It will interest my readers to know that a fifteen minutes' walk from this church of St. Olave, Hart Street, would bring one to Montjoy's the Tiremaker's, at the corner of Silver and Monkwell Streets, where Shakespeare sojourned so many years, and played the good fairy to the lovers, Mary Montjoy and Stephen Bellott.

The brothers, Francis and Anthony Bacon, were knit by the closest bonds of love. Yet in death they were divided. In Lord Bacon's will he says:

"For my burial, I desire it may be in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans: there was my mother buried, and it is the parish church of my mansion-house of Gorhambury, and it is the only Christian church within the walls of Old Verulam. For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations, and the next ages."

It is a consolation to know that St. Olave Church in Hart Street, London, and St. Michael's Church in St. Albans, are still standing, and that in each of these is shrined all that was mortal of these wonderfully devoted and loving brothers, Anthony and Francis Bacon.

After the exit of Sir Henry Herbert, the Master of the Revels, in 1673, Bacon's kinsmen, the Killigrews, became leaders in the theatrical world.

Bacon's niece married Sir Robert Killigrew, and their two sons, William, born in 1606, and Thomas, in 1611, became dramatic authors. William Killigrew was knighted by Charles I, and was made a gentleman Usher to that king. He was vice-chamberlain to the Queen and brought out three plays about 1665.

His younger brother, Thomas, became more famous as a dramatist and may be said to have succeeded Sir Henry Herbert in the office of Master of the Revels. He was a page to Charles I, and a groom of the Chamber of Charles II. "As motley was the only wear" in that licentious monarch's court, Thomas Killigrew, like Jaques, may have thought:

"Invest me in my motley; give me leave to speak the truth."

for to his master, Charles II, he dared openly to speak

almost brutal truths. This led some one to call him the king's "Jester." Killigrew's frankness did not lower him in the king's estimation, for in 1660 Charles II granted licenses to Killigrew to erect two new play-houses and to form two new companies, as well as to liveve their own plays (Davenant was joined with him in these). This was a sad blow to Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, and there was much litigation between them. But in 1662 they signed articles of agreement and promised to enter into a "bond of amity," The Herberts were passing from the scene. Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery and fourth Earl of Pembroke, died in 1650, and the despotic rod he had wielded as Lord Chamberlain, was no longer held over the heads of dramatic poets. Thomas Killigrew, son of Thomas, the king's 'Jester," was also a writer of stage plays.

In Shakespeare's nature is found the rarity of two distinct individualities. The Poet and the man are dualistic. I have thought Ben Jonson's lines before the first Folio may have alluded to this characteristic—

"That I not mixe thee so my mind excuses * * *

It has been difficult—almost an impossible task—for the student to amalgamate these two natures. On the one hand poetry flows from and seems to be the very essence and life blood of the Poet Shakespeare; while on the other hand, to the *man*, Shakespeare, it appears incidental, non-essential, or "as it were a careless trifle."

The poet's own words better illustrate this difference where in the *Comedy of Errors*, *V. I.*, the Duke says:

One of these men is genius to the other ;
 . . . Which is the natural man
 And which the spirit? Who deciphers them?

The Poet by his contemporaries was called "gentle"
 and John Davies of Hereford (1611) says:

"Thou hast no rayling but a reigning Wit."

But the *man* Shakespeare contradicted this. He was litigious and sued a townsman for a few shillings. The facts so far discovered relate to *suits-at-law*, *quit-claims*, or an *action* against someone. Prof. Wallace's valuable discoveries connect Shakespeare with two law suits. One over the Blackfriars property in 1615 and the other as a witness in a lawsuit in 1612. Precious as these discoveries are, they in no way so far as I know connect Shakespeare with the plays or poems, but as Prof. Wallace is continuing his researches with undiminished ardor, we must be fed by the hope that he may yet do this.

Shakespeare was fated to go to law over the New Place property in Stratford-on-Avon in 1597. This is a matter of record and is clearly shown by Halliwell Phillipps in his "Outlines," p. 399 Ed. 1882, where he gives a copy (in Latin) "of the foot of fine levied on this occasion." Shakespeare did not gain possession of this property until five years later, *i. e.* in 1602.

The Underhill family, from whom Shakespeare bought the property were still in possession. There seems to be a mystery about this transaction that has not been explained. The reader will see that there were two fines on this property of New Place, and can make his own conclusions from the translation I now give of the

Legal Documents (Quit Claims) in which Shakespeare figured :

“Between William Shakespeare, complainant, and William Underhill, gentleman, maintaining possession by force (or in distraint) as to one dwelling house (mesuagio), two barns (or grainaries) and two gardens with appurtenances, in Stratford-on-Avon, when a Summons was made as to an agreement between them in the same court, whereas the aforesaid William Underhill has acknowledged that the aforesaid tenements with appurtenances are the rightful property of William Shakespeare himself as (are) those which the same William holds by gift of the aforesaid William Underhill and he has remitted the same and given a quit claim as to himself and his heirs, that they themselves will guarantee to the aforesaid William Shakespeare and his heirs, the aforesaid tenements with appurtenances forever. And for this acknowledgement, quit claim, guarantee, termination and harmony, the same William Shakespeare has given to the aforesaid William Underhill sixty pounds sterling. Easter Term, 39 Elizabeth.

This “termination” was not realized, for five years later 1602 “another fine was levied on New Place for the same property,” says Halliwell Phillips *ibid*.

The reader may have observed that in the first fine, the title of “gentleman” is put after William Underhill’s name, but not given to Shakespeare. Not till five years later is the title of gentleman given to Shakespeare in these documents. The following is a translation of the second fine :

"Between William Shakespeare, gentleman, complainant, and Hercules Underhill, gentleman, maintaining possession by force (deforcement) concerning one dwelling-house, two barns (granaries), two gardens and two orchards, with appurtenances, in Stratford-on-Avon, whence a summons of a settled agreement between them was entered in the same court whereas the aforesaid Hercules has acknowledged that the aforesaid tenements with appurtenances are the lawful property of the same William personally, like those which the same William holds by gift of the aforesaid Hercules, and he has remitted them and given a quit claim of himself and his heirs to the aforesaid William and his heirs forever. And besides the said Hercules has granted for himself and his heirs, that they themselves will guarantee to the aforesaid William and his heirs the aforesaid tenements with appurtenances against the aforesaid Hercules and his heirs forever; and for this acknowledgement, remission, quit claim, warrant, fine and harmony, the said William has given to the aforesaid Hercules sixty pounds sterling." (Michelmas Term 44 and 45 Elizabeth.)

Tyrwhitt was the discoverer of the *Shake-scene* allusion in Robert Greene's "*Groats-worth of Wit*" written in 1592. Most commentators agree that this allusion of the dying stage-poet, Greene, was to Shakespeare, who like Pallas was immediately brought forth armed and ready to "shake a lance" at ignorance.

"The tongues of dying men enforce attention."

Hence it is that so much has been written on these allusions in Greene's last work, the *Groats-Worth of*

Wit. It may seem rash in the writer to offer a new solution or interpretation of Greene's tirade against Shakespeare, but it will do no harm.

Greene was stung to the quick by the praise bestowed on this unnamed man by Spencer "best read in ancient poetry," who likened the new dramatist to an Eagle:

"Whose Muse full of high thoughts invention,
Doth like himself heroically sound."

Spencer was looked up to by the whole literary world and his judgment respected by the best men of letters in his day.

Also in the year 1592, Greene's quondam companion, Thomas Nashe, whom the poet, Thomas Lodge, called "*true English Aretine*," published his "*Pierce Penniless*," wherein he lauds enthusiastically, "*brave Talbot*" in the play of *Henry the VI*. Now this praise from Nashe was the unkindest cut of all, to the poor dying Greene, for he and Nashe had held merry meetings and Nashe's first published article came out in Greene's *Mentaphon* in 1589, in which he gibes at the author of *Hamlet* as follows:

"An Epistle to the Gentlemen Students of the Two Universities, by Thomas Nashe," prefixed to the first edition of Robert Greene's "*Mentaphon*"—according to the title-page, published in 1589. The supposed allusion to Shakespeare is in the words following:

"I will turn back to my first text of studies of delight, and talk a little in friendship with a few of our trivial translators. It is a common practice now-a-days, amongst a sort of shifting companions that run through every art and thrive

by none, to leave the trade of *Noverint*, whereto they were born, and busy themselves with the endeavours of art, that could scarcely Latinize their neck-verse if they should have need; yet English Seneca, read by candle-light, yields many good sentences, as *bloud is a beggar, and so forth*; and if you intreat him fair, in a frosty morning, he will afford you whole *Hamlets*; I should say handfuls of tragical speeches. But O grief! *Tempus edax rerum*—what is that will last always? The sea exhaled by drops will in continuance be dry; and Seneca, let blood, line by line, and page by page, at length must needs die to our stage.”

Greene, like the old poet Hoccleve, had wasted his life in excesses of all kinds, and in his bitter anguish he hurled reproaches upon his former associates. As for the players, he called them “apes,” “rude grooms,” “buckram gentlemen,” “peasants,” “painted monsters,” “burrs” and “Puppits that speak from our mouths.”

But there was one more repellant to Greene than all the others; an unnamed man whom he calls “*an upstart Crow with his Tiger’s heart wrapt in a player’s hide*.”
III Hen. VI. A.-I.-S-IV.

Whetstone’s *Metrical Life* of George Gascoigne, who died 1579, has these lines:

For who can bear to see a painted crow
Singing aloft when Turtles mourn below.

“Upstart crow” means one suddenly raised.
Wither in his *Juvenilia* calls the Poetasters
“Crow-poets and Poetic-daws.”

All Greene’s pricking of conscience for his own sins could not stifle the contempt he felt for this suddenly

raised pretender. Greene's words imply that the offender was masking under the dress of a player and that he was not a professional actor. Then concentrating all his energy and with an earnestness that cannot be questioned he continues, "*and being an absolute Johannes factotum, is in his owne conceit the only Shake-scene in a country.*" Greene had dipped his pen in venom and may have felt that the blast he had dealt would wither the reputation of the man he so hated. There is a similarity between *Shake-scene* and *Shakespeare*, which cannot be ignored, but why did not Greene (if he really meant Shakespeare) call him *Wilhelmus factotum*, to identify him more clearly?

"*Factotum*" is significant. It means a doer of all kinds of work for another—a handy deputy in fact. There is only one notable and historical *Johanne's factotum* I can call to mind, who literally fills the role Greene assigns to "*Shake-scene*," and this is the "*peur Johannes*" of the celebrated philosopher Roger Bacon, and I think Robert Greene had this example in mind when he appellatively used it, because he had written before his illness, a comedy on "*Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*" and was well versed in the writings of the ancients. The scenes between Friar Bacon and his man (whom Greene in his play calls Miles) are very amusing, especially those relating to the Brazen Head.

Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, entered S. R. 14 May, 1594, and printed the same year as written by Greene and played by the Queen's men. These were presumably the original owners and may have sent the play to press. Greene may have written it in 1589 when St. James' Day fell

on a Friday. . . . *Henslowe's Diary* edited by
Walter W. Greg, part II.

The real Roger Bacon trusted his *Johannes factotum* with his most precious and secret works and sent the poor obscure youth with his treasured manuscripts to Pope Clement IV in 1267. No biography of this *Johannes* is known but like Shakespeare of Stratford, he was friendless and poor. Some writers have called him "John of London" but others deny this identification.

For the following account of Roger Bacon's "*peur Johannes*," see Fr. Rogeri Bacon Ed. by J. S. Brewer, Lond., p. 87, 1859, where Brewer says:

"Among his more illustrious pupils was John of London, to whom nature had been as prodigal as fortune was unkind. Struck with the genius that dawned in the countenance, Bacon took the lad under his protection, being then fifteen years old, and instructed him with so much care that he outstripped all his contemporaries at Oxford and Paris. He was sent by Bacon with various [three] books to Clement IV. in the year 1267; and he is mentioned with great commendation on more than one occasion: "For this reason I cast "my eyes on a lad, whom I caused to be instructed "five or six years ago in the languages, in mathe- "matics and optics, wherein is the chief difficulty "of all that I have now sent you. I have gratuit- "ously instructed him with my own lips since the "time I received your mandate, foreseeing that "there was no other, whom I could employ with "so much satisfaction. And therefore I thought "I would despatch him, that if it pleased your "wisdom to use my messenger, you might find

“him fit for the purpose; if not, he might still
“present my writings to your eminence. For un-
“questionably there is not any one among the
“Latins who *in all that I wish* ’can answer so
“many questions (because of the method that I
“pursue, and because I have instructed him), as
“he can do, who has learnt from my own lips,
“and been instructed by my counsel.

“God is my witness, that had it not been for
“your reverence and to your advantage, I would
“not have mentioned him. Had I wanted to send
“a person for my own profit, I could easily have
“found others more suited for advancing my in-
“terests; had I consulted the advantage of the
“messenger, I love others more, and am more
“obliged to them, because I am under no obliga-
“tion to him, either from kindred or otherwise,
“except so far as I am to any ordinary person;
“even less. For when he came to me as a poor
“boy, I caused him to be nurtured and instructed
“for the love of God, especially since for aptitude
“and innocence I never found so towardly a
“youth. He has made such progress, that he will
“be able to gain more truly and successfully what
“is needful, than anyone else at Paris, although
“he is not more than twenty or twenty-one. For
“there is no one at Paris who knows so much of
“the root of philosophy, although he has not pro-
“duced the branches, flowers, and fruits, because
“of his youth, and because he has had no experi-
“ence in teaching. But he has the means of sur-
“passing all the Latins if he live to grow old, and
“proceeds as he has begun.”

“He then proceeds to praise highly the courte-
ous and retiring manners of this youth, and to
commend him for other good qualities.”

Brewer adds:

"I may state here in reference to John of London, who was sent on these occasions to Pope Clement, that both for Bacon's sake and his own merits he was advanced to some dignity, though of what nature I cannot determine. Some affirm that he lived many years after this, and was eminent for his writings. But as these were produced in a foreign country, no notice of their contents has reached us. In all probability they have been lost in Italy."

The writings of this traditional *Johannes* seem to be as legendary as his name. Towards the end of his *Groats Worth of Wit*, Greene says:

"Tread on a worm and it will turn; then blame not scollars, who are vexed with sharpe and bitter lines, if they reprove too much,"

and adds:—

"Weakness will scarce suffer me to write, yet to my fellows scollers about this city will I direct these few lines."

How did the gentle Shakespeare receive Greene's peevish lines? In *Midsummer Night's Dream*, V. i., Entered by Tho. Fisher in the Stationers' Registers, Oct. 8, 1600, I like to think in the lines from Spencer:

". . . That same gentle spirit from whose pen

Large streams of honey and sweet nector flow"
alluded to the death of Robert Greene in these exquisite lines:—

"The trice three Muses, mourning for the death
Of learning, late deceased in beggary."

And if this interpretation be true I agree with Spencer:

“A gentler shepheard may no where be found:
Whose Muse full of high thoughts invention
Doth like himself Heriocrally sound.”

Dyce, in his Edition of *Greene's Works*, Vol. I., has this:

Account of R. Greene.

It has been supposed that he took holy orders. In the *Lansdowne Manuscripts*, 982, art. 102, fol. 187, under the head of “Additions to Mr. Wood’s Report of Mr. Robert Green, an eminent poet, who died about 1592,” is a reference to a document in Rymer’s “*Fœdera*,” from which it appears that a “Robert Grene” was, in 1576, one of the Queen’s chaplains, and that he was presented by her Majesty to the rectory of Walkington, in the diocese of York. If this document relates to the poet, his birth must be fixed earlier than 1560. The late Octavius Gilchrist states that our author was presented to the vicarage of Tollesbury, in Essex, the 19th June, 1584, which he resigned the next year.

“Anno 1576. Regina, delectis Nobis in Christo, Decano et Capitulo Ecclesiæ nostræ Cathedralis et Metropolitanæ Eboracensis, aut Vicario suo in Spiritualibus Generali et Officiali Principali, aut alii cuicunque in hac parte Potestatem habenti, Salutem.

“Ad Rectoriam sive Ecclesiam Parochialem de Walkington Eboracen. Diæces. per mortem Johannis Newcome ultimi Incumbentis ibidem, jam vacantem et ad nostram Donatinem et Præsentationem pleno jure spectantem, Dilectum nobis in Christo, Robertum Grene, unum Capellanorum nostrorum Capellæ nostræ Regiæ, vobis Tenore Præsentium præ sentamus, Man-

dantes et Requirentes quatenus eundem Robertum Grene ad Rectoriam sive Ecclesiam Parochialem de Walkington prædictam admittere, ipsumque Rectorem ejusdem ac in et de eadem cum suis Juribus et Pertinentiis universis instituere et investire, cæteraque omnia et singula peragere facere et perimplere, quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt Officio Pastoralis, velitis cum favore. In cujus rei, &c.

"Teste Regina apud Gorhambury tricesimo primo die Augusti.

"Per breve de Privato Sigillo."—Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xv. p. 765.

That is: Year 1576. The Queen having been chosen in Christ, to the Dean and head of our Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of York, or to his vicar, in his general and official capacity in Spiritual affairs, or to any one else having power in this Sphere—greeting.

For the rectory or parish church of Walkington in the diocese of York, now left vacant through the death of John Newcome, the last incumbent of the same, and looking most rightly to our gift and presentation, we do present to you, in view of the state of present affairs, Robert Greene, chosen by us in Christ one of our chaplains of our Royal Chapel, ordering and asking that you be pleased with good-will to admit the same Robert Greene to the rectory or parish church of the Walkington aforesaid, and to establish and invest him as rector of the same with all the rights and privileges in and of the same, and that you perform, accomplish and complete both collectively and singly all the other things which fall to your pastoral duty in this connection.

In [witness] of which thing &c.
The Queen having witness at Gorhambury on
the thirty-first day of August.

Per breve. By her private seal.

Per breve may be a legal term. According to Century Dictionary, Breve is still used of a royal mandate, so I venture "by her royal mandate."

The following excerpts are from Greene's Comedy
Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay.

Enter Friar Bacon, with Miles, his poor scholar, with books under his arm; with them Burden, Mason, Clement, three doctors.

Bacon. Miles, where are you?

Miles. Hic sum, doctissime et reverendissime doctor.

Bacon. Attulisti nos libros meos de necromantia?

Miles. Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare libros in unum.

Bacon. Now, masters of our academic state,
That rule in Oxford, viceroys in your place,
Whose heads contain maps of the liberal arts,
Spending your time in depth of learned skill,
Why flock you thus to Bacon's secret cell,
A friar newly stall'd in Brazen-nose?
Say what's your mind, that I may make reply.

Burd. Bacon, we hear that long we have suspect,

That thou art read in magic's mystery,
In Pyromancy, to divine by flames;
To tell by Hydromatic, ebbs and tides;
By Aeromancy to discover doubts,
To plain out questions as Apollo did.

Bacon. Well, master Burden, what of all this?

Miles. Marry, sir, he doth but fulfil, by rehearsing of these names, the fable of the Fox and the Grapes; that which is above us pertains nothing to us.

Burd. I tell thee, Bacon, Oxford makes report,

Nay, England, and the Court of Henry says,
Th'art making of a brazen head by art,
Which shall unfold strange doubts and aphorisms,

And read a lecture in philosophy:
And by the help of devils and ghastly fiends,
Thou mean'st ere many years or days be past,
To compass England with a wall of brass.

Bacon. And what of this?

Miles. What of this, master? Why he doth speak mystically, for he knows if your skill fail to make a brazen head, yet mother Water's strong ale will fit his turn to make him have a copper nose.

Clem. Bacon, we come not grieving at thy skill,

But joying that our academy yields
A man supposed the wonder of the world;
For if thy cunning work these miracles,
England and Europe shall admire thy fame,
And Oxford shall in characters of brass,
And statues, such as were built up in Rome,
Eternize Friar Bacon for his art.

Mason. Then, gentle friar, tell us thy intent.

Bacon. Seeing you come as friends unto the friar,

Resolve you, doctors, Bacon can by books,
Make storming Boreas thunder from his cave,
And dim fair Luna to a dark eclipse.
The great arch-ruler, potentate of hell,
Trembles when Bacon bids him, or his fiends,

Bow to the force of his Pentageron.
What art can work, the frolic friar knows,
And therefore will I turn magic books,
And strain out necromancy to the deep.
I have contriv'd and fram'd a head of brass,
(I made Belcephon hammer out the stuff)
And that by art shall read philosophy;
And I will strengthen England by my skill,
That if ten Cæsars liv'd and reign'd in Rome,
With all the legions Europe doth contain,
They should not touch a grass of English
ground.

The work that Ninus rear'd at Babylon,
The brazen walls fram'd by Semiramis,
Carv'd out like to the portal of the sun,
Shall not be such as rings the English strond,
From Dover to the market place of Rye.

Burd. Is this possible?

Miles. I'll bring ye two or three witnesses.

Burd. What be those?

Miles. Marry, sir, three or four as honest
devils, and good companions as any be in hell.

Mason. No doubt but magic may do much
in this,

For he that reads but mathematic rules,
Shall find conclusions that avail to work
Wonders that pass the common sense of men.

Burd. But Bacon roves a bow beyond his
reach,

And tells of more than magic can perform;
Thinking to get a fame by fooleries.

Have I not pass'd as far in state of schools,
And read of many secrets? yet to think,
That heads of brass can utter any voice,
Or more, to tell of deep philosophy,
This is a fable Aesop had forgot.

Bacon. Burden, thou wrong'st me in detracting thus;

Bacon loves not to stuff himself with lies:
But tell me 'fore these doctors, if thou dare,
Of certain questions I shall move to thee.

Burd. I will: ask what thou can.

Miles. Marry, sir, he'll straight be on your pickpack, to know whether the feminine or the masculine gender be most worthy.

Bacon. Were you not yesterday, master Burden, at Henley upon the Thames?

Burd. I was; what then?

Bacon. What book studied you thereon all night?

Burd. I? none at all; I read not there a line.

Bacon. Then, doctors, friar Bacon's art knows nought.

Clem. What say you to this, master Burden? does he not touch you?

Burd. I pass not of his frivolous speeches.

Miles. Nay, master Burden, my master, ere he hath done with you, will turn you from a doctor to a dunce, and shake you so small, that he will leave no more learning in you than is in Balaam's ass.

Bacon. Masters' for that learn'd Burden's skill is deep,

And sore he doubts of Bacon's cabalism,
I'll show you why he haunts to Henley oft:
Not, doctors, for to taste the fragrant air,
But there to spend the night in alchemy,
To multiply with secret spells of art,
Thus private steals he learning from us all.
To prove my sayings true, I'll shew you straight,
The book he keeps at Henley for himself.

Miles. Nay, now my master goes to conjuration, take heed.

Bacon. Masters, stand still, fear not, I'll shew you but his book. (Here he conjures.)

Per omnes deos infernales, Belcephon!

Enter a WOMAN with a shoulder of a mutton on a spit, and a Devil.

Miles. O, master, cease your conjuration, or you spoil all, for here's a she devil come with a shoulder of mutton on a spit: you have marred the devil's supper, but no doubt he thinks our college fare is slender, and so has sent you his cook with a shoulder of mutton, to make it exceed.

Hostess. Oh, where am I, or what's become of me?

Bacon. What art thou?

Hostess. Hostess at Henley, mistress of the Bell.

Bacon. How cam'st thou here?

Hostess. As I was in the kitchen 'mongst the maids,

Spitting the meat 'gainst supper for my guess,
A motion mov'd me to look forth of door:

No sooner had I pry'd into the yard,
But straight a whirlwind hoisted from thence,
And mounted me aloft unto the clouds.

As in a trance I thought nor feared nought,
Nor know I where or whither I was ta'en,
Nor where I am, nor what these persons be.

Bacon. No? know you not master Burden?

Hostess. O yes, good sir, he is my daily guest.
What, master Burden, 'twas but yesternight,
That you and I at Henley play'd at cards.

Burd. I know not what we did. A pox of all conjuring friars.

Clem. Now, jolly friar, tell us, is this the book

That Burden is so careful to look on?

Bacon. It is; but, Burden, tell me now,
Think'st thou that Bacon's necromantic skill
Cannot perform his head and wall of brass
When he can fetch thy hostess in such post?

Miles. I'll warrant you, master, if master
Burden could conjure as well as you, he would
have his book every night from Henley to study
on at Oxford.

Mason. Burden,
What, are you mated by this frolic friar?
Look how he droops; his guilty conscience
Drives him to 'bash, and makes his hostess
blush.

Bacon. Well, mistress, for I will not have
you miss'd,

You shall to Henley to cheer up your guests
'Fore supper 'gin. Burden, bid her adieu:
Say farewell to your hostess 'fore she goes.
Sirrah, away, and set her safe at home.

Hostess. Master Burden, when shall we see
you at Henley?

(Exeunt Hostess and the Devil.)

Burd. The devil take thee and Henley, too.

Miles. Master, shall I make a good motion?

Bacon. What's that?

Miles. Marry, sir, now that my hostess is
gone to provide supper, conjure up another
spirit, and send doctor Burden flying after.

Bacon. Thus rulers of our academic state,
You have seen the friar frame his art by
proof;

And as the college called Brazen-nose,
Is under him, and he the master there,
So surely shall this head of brass be fram'd,

And yield forth strange and uncouth aphorisms:

And hell and Hecate shall fail the friar,
But I will circle England round with brass.

Miles. So be it, et nunc et semper; amen.

(Exeunt omnes.)

* * * *

Emp. Where is the prince, my lord?

Hen. He posted down, not long since, from
the court,

To Suffolk side, to merry Framlingham,
To sport himself amongst my fallow deer:
From thence, by packets sent to Hampton-
house,

We hear the prince is ridden with his lords,

To Oxford, in the academy there

To hear dispute amongst the learned men.

But we will send forth letters for my son,

To will him come from Oxford to the court.

Emp. Nay, rather, Henry, let us as we be,

Ride for to visit Oxford with our train.

Fain would I see your universities,

And what learn'd men your academy yields.

From Hapsburg have I brought a learned
clerk,

To hold dispute with English orators:

This doctor, surnam'd Jaques Vandermast,

A German born, pass'd into Padua,

To Florence and to fair Bologna,

To Paris, Rheims, and stately Orleans,

And, talking there with men of art, put down

The chiefest of them all in aphorisms,

In magic, and the mathematic rules:

Now let us, Henry, try him in your schools.

Hen. He shall, my lord; this motion likes
me well.

We'll progress straight to Oxford with our
trains,
And see what men our academy brings.
And, wonder Vandermast, welcome to me:
In Oxford shalt thou find a jolly friar,
Call'd Friar Bacon, England's only flower.
Set him but nonplus in his magic spells,
And make him yield in mathematic rules,
And for thy glory I will bind thy brows,
Not with a poet's garland, made of bays,
But with a coronet of choicest gold.
Whilst then we set to Oxford with our troops,
Let's in and banquet in our English court.

(Exeunt.)

* * * *

Enter Bacon and Miles.

Erms. Stay, who comes here?

War. Some scholar; and we'll ask him where
friar Bacon is.

Bacon. Why, thou arrant dunce, shall I
never make thee a good scholar? doth not all the
town cry out and say, friar Bacon's subsizer is
the greatest blockhead in all Oxford? Why thou
canst not speak one word of true Latin.

Miles. No, sir? yet, what is this else; "Ego
sum tuus homo," I am your man: I warrant you,
sir, as good Tully's phrase as any is in Oxford.

Bacon. Come on, sirrah; what part of speech
is Ego?

Miles. Ego, that is I: marry, nomen sub-
stantivo.

Bacon. How prove you that?

Miles. Why, sir, let him prove himself and
a' will; I can be heard, felt, and understood.

Bacon. O gross dunce! (Here beat him.)

Edw. Come, let us break off this dispute be-

tween these two. Sirrah, where is Brazen-nose college?

Miles. Not far from Coppersmith's Hall.

Edw. What, dost thou mock me?

Miles. Not I, sir; but what would you at Brazen-nose?

Erms. Marry, we would speak with Friar Bacon.

Miles. Whose men be you?

Erms. Marry, scholar, here's our master.

Ralph. Sirrah, I am the master of these good fellows; mayest thou not know me to be a lord by my reparable?

Miles. Then here's good game for the hawk; for here's the master fool, and a covey of cox-combs: one wise man, I think, would spring you all.

Edw. Gog's wounds! Warren, kill him.

War. Why, Ned, I think the devil be in my sheath; I cannot get out my dagger.

Erms. Nor I mine: swones, Ned, I think I am bewitched.

Miles. A company of scabs! the proudest of you all draw your weapon if he can. See how boldly I speak now my master is by.

Edw. I strive in vain; but if my sword is shut,
And conjured fast by magic in my sheath,
Villain, here is my fist.

(Strike him a box on the ear.)

Miles. Oh! I beseech you conjure his hands, too, that he may not lift his arms to his head, for he is light-fingered.

Ralph. Ned, strike him; I'll warrant thee by mine honour.

Bacon. What means the English prince to wrong my man?

Edw. To whom speak'st thou?

Bacon. To thee.

Edw. Who art thou?

Bacon. Could you not judge, when all your
swords grew fast,
That Friar Bacon was not far from hence?
Edward, King Henry's son, and Prince of
Wales,

Thy fool disguis'd cannot conceal thyself:
I know both Ermsby and the Sussex Earl,
Else friar Bacon had but little skill.
Thou com'st in post from merry Fressingfield,
Fast fancied to the keeper's bonnie lass,
To crave some succour from the jolly friar;
And Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, hast thou left,
To 'treat fair Margaret to allow thy loves:
But friends are men, and love can baffle lords;
The earl both woos and courts her for himself.

War. Ned, this is strange; the friar knoweth
all.

Erms. Apollo could not utter more than this.

Edw. I stand amaz'd to hear this jolly friar.
Tell even the very secrets of my thoughts.
But, learned Bacon, since thou know'st the cause,
Why I did post so fast from Fressingfield,
Help, friar, at a pinch, that I may have
The love of lovely Margaret to myself,
And, as I am true Prince of Wales, I'll give
Living and lands to strengthen thy college state.

War. Good friar, help the prince in this.

Ralph. Why, servant Ned, will not the friar
do it? Were not my sword glued to my scab-
bard by conjuration, I would cut off his head,
and make him do it by force.

Miles. In faith, my lord, your manhood and
your sword is all alike; they are so fast conjured
that we shall never see them.

Erms. What, doctor, in a dump! tush, help
the prince,

And thou shalt see how liberal he will prove.

Bacon. Crave not such actions greater dumps
than these?

I will, my lord, strain out my magic spells,
For this day comes the earl to Fressingfield,
And 'fore that night shuts in the day with dark,
They'll be betrothed each to other fast,
But come with me, we'll to my study straight,
And in a glass prospective I will shew
What's done this day in merry Fressingfield.

Edw. Gramercies, Bacon; I will quite thy
pain.

Bacon. But send your train, my lord, into the
town:

My scholar shall go bring them to their inn;
Meanwhile we'll see the knavery of the earl.

Edw. Warren, leave me, and Ermsby take
the fool;

Let him be master, and go revel it,
Till I and friar Bacon talk awhile.

War. We will, my lord.

Ralph. Faith, Ned, and I'll lord it out till
thou comest: I'll be Prince of Wales over all
the black pots in Oxford. (Exeunt)

BACON and EDWARD go into the study.

Bacon. Now, frolic Edward, welcome to my
cell;

Here tempers friar Bacon many toys,
And holds this place his consistory court,
Wherein the devils plead homage to his words.
Within this glass prospective thou shalt see
This day what's done in merry Fressingfield,
Twixt lovely Peggy and the Lincoln Earl.

Edw. Friar, thou glad'st me: Now shall
Edward try

How Lacy meaneth to his sovereign lord.

Bacon. Stand there and look directly in the glass.

Enter MARGARET and Friar BUNGAY.

Bacon. What sees my lord?

Edw. I see the keeper's lovely lass appear,
As brightsome as the paramour of Mars,
Only attended by a jolly friar.

Bacon. Sit still and keep the crystal in your eye.

* * * *

Enter BACON

Bacon. All hail to this royal company,
That sit to hear and see this strange dispute.
Bungay, how stand'st thou as a man amaz'd?
What, hath the German acted more than thou?

Van. What art thou that question thus?

Bacon. Men call me Bacon.

Van. Lordly thou look'st, as if that thou wert
learn'd;

Thy countenance as if science held her seat
Between the circled arches of thy brows.

* * * *

Enter Friar BACON, drawing the curtains, with a white stick, a book in his hand, and a lamp lighted by him; and the Brazen Head, and Miles, with weapons by him.

Bacon. Miles, where are you?

Miles. Here, sir.

Bacon. How chance you tarry so long?

Miles. Think you that watching of the Brazen Head craves no furniture? I warrant you, sir, I have so armed myself, that if all your devils come, I will not fear them an inch.

Bacon. Miles,
Thou know'st that I have dived into hell,
And sought the darkest palaces of fiends,

That with my magic spells great Belcephon
 Hath left his lodge and kneeled at my cell :
 The rafters of the earth rent from the poles,
 And three-form'd Luna hid her silver looks,
 Trembling upon her concave continent,
 When Bacon read upon his magic book.
 With seven years tossing necromantic charms,
 Poring upon dark Hecat's principles,
 I have fram'd out a monstrous head of brass,
 That by the enchanting forces of the devil,
 Shall tell out strange and uncouth aphorisms,
 And girt fair England with a wall of brass.
 Bungay and I have watch'd these threescore days,
 And now our vital spirits crave some rest :
 If Argus liv'd, and had his hundred eyes,
 They could not over-watch Phobetor's night.
 Now, Miles, in thee rests Friar Bacon's Weal :
 The honour and renown of all his life
 Hangs in the watching of this Brazen Head ;
 Therefore I charge thee by the immortal God,
 That holds the souls of men within his fist,
 This night thou watch ; for ere the morning star
 Sends out his glorious glister on the north,
 The head will speak ; then, Miles, upon thy life,
 Wake me ; for then by magic art I'll work,
 To end my seven years' task with excellence.
 If that a wink but shut thy watchful eye,
 Then farewell Bacon's glory and his fame !
 Draw close the curtains, Miles : now for thy life,
 Be watchful and— (Here he falleth asleep.)

Miles. So ; I thought you would talk your-
 self asleep anon, and 'tis no marvel, for Bungay
 on the days, and he on the nights, have watched
 just these ten and fifty days : now this is the
 night, and 'tis my task and no more. Now,
 Jesus bless me ! what a goodly Head it is and a
 nose ! You talk of nos autem glorificare ; but

here's a nose, that I warrant may be called *nos autem populaire* for the people of the parish. Well, I am furnished with weapons: now, sir, I will set me down by a post, and make it as good as a watchman to wake me if I chance to slumber. I thought, goodman Head, I would call you out of your memento. *Passion a' God*, I have almost broke my pate! Up, Miles, to your task; take your brown bill in your hand, here's some of your master's hobgoblins abroad.

(With this a great noise.)

The HEAD speaks.

Head. Time is.

Miles. Time is! Why, master Brazen-head, have you such a capital nose, and answer you with syllables, Time is? is this all your master's cunning, to spend seven years' study about Time is? Well, sir, it may be, we shall have some better orations of it anon: well, I'll watch you as narrowly as ever you were watched, and I'll play with you as the nightingale with the glow-worm; I'll set a prick against my breast. Now rest there, Miles. Lord have mercy upon me, I have almost killed myself! Up, Miles, list how they rumble.

Head. Time was.

Miles. Well, Friar Bacon, you have spent your seven years study well, that can make your Head speak but two words at once, Time was. Yea marry, time was when my master was a wise man, but that was before he began to make the Brazen Head. You shall lie while your * * * ache, and your Head speak no better. Well, I will watch and walk up and down, and be a peripatetician and a philosopher of Aristotle's stamp. What! a fresh noise? Take thy pistols in hand, Miles.

(Here the Head speaks, and a lightning flasheth forth, and a hand appears that breaketh down the Head with a hammer.)

Head. Time is past.

Miles. Master! master! up, hell's broken loose! your Head speaks! and there's such a thunder and lightning, that I warrant all Oxford is up in arms. Out of your bed, and take a brown bill in your hand; the latter day is come.

Bacon. Miles, I come. O passing warily watch'd!

Bacon will make thee next himself in love.

When spake the Head?

Miles. When spake the head! did not you say that he should tell strange principles of philosophy? Why, sir, it speaks but two words at a time.

Bacon. Why, villain, hath it spoken oft?

Mile. Oft! ay marry hath it, thrice; but in all those three times it hath uttered but seven words.

Bacon. As how?

Miles. Marry sir, the first time he said, Time is, as if Fabius Commentator should have pronounced a sentence; (the second time) he said, Time was; and the third time, with thunder and lightning, as in great choler, he said, Time is past.

Bacon. 'Tis past, indeed. Ah, villain! time is past:

My life, my fame, my glory, all are past.

Bacon, the turrets of thy hope are ruin'd down,
Thy seven years' study lieth in the dust:

Thy Brazen Head lies broken through a slave,
That watch'd, and would not when the Head
did will.

What said the Head first?

Miles. Even, sir, Time is.

Bacon. Villain! if thou had'st call'd to Bacon then,

If thou had'st watch'd, and wak'd the sleepy friar,

The Brazen Head had utter'd aphorisms,
And England had been circled round with brass:
But proud Astmenoth, ruler of the north,
And Demogorgon, master of the fates,
Grudge that a mortal man should work so much.
Hell trembled at my dep commanding spells,
Fiends frown'd to see a man their over-match:
Bacon might boast more than a man might boast;
But now the braves of Bacon have an end,
Europe's conceit of Bacon hath an end,
His seven years' practice sorteth to ill end;
And, villain, sith my glory hath an end,
I will appoint thee to some fatal end.
Villain, avoid! get thee from Bacon's sight:
Vagrant, go roam and range about the world,
And perish as a vagabond on earth!

Miles. Why then, sir, you forbid me your service.

Bacon. My service? villain! with a fatal curse,
That direful plagues and mischiefs fall on thee.

Miles. 'Tis no matter, I am against you with the old proverb, the more the fox is cursed, the better he fares. God be with you, sir: I'll take but a book in my hand, a wide-sleeved gown on my back, and a crowned cap on my head, and see if I can want promotion. (Exit.

Bacon. Some fiend or ghost haunt on thy weary steps,
Until they do transport thee quick to hell:

For Bacon shall have never merry day,
To lose the fame and honour of his Head.
(Exit.

* * * *

Enter BACON with FRIAR BUNGAY
to his cell.

Bun. What means the friar that frolick'd it
of late,
To sit as melancholy in his cell,
As if he had neither lost nor won to-day?

Bacon. Ah, Bungay, my Brazen Head is
spoil'd,
My glory gone, my seven years' study lost!
The fame of Bacon bruited through the world,
Shall end and perish with this deep disgrace.

Bun. Bacon hath built foundation of his
fame,
So surely on the wings of true report,
With acting strange and uncouth miracles,
As this cannot infringe what he deserves.

Bacon. Bungay, sit down, for my prospective
skill,
I find this day shall fall out ominous.
Some deadly act shall 'tide me ere I sleep;
But what and wherein little can I guess.

Bun. My mind is heavy, whatsoe'er shall
hap. (Knock.

Bacon. Who's that knocks?

Bun. Two scholars that desire to speak with
you.

Bacon. Bid them come in.

Enter two SCHOLARS, sons to Lambert
and Serlsby.

Now, my youths, what would you have?

First Scho. Sir, we are Suffolk men, and
neighboring friends,
Our fathers in their countries lusty squires:

Their lands adjoin; in Cratfield mine doth dwell,
And his in Laxfield. We are college mates,
Sworn brothers, as our fathers live as friends.

Bacon. To what end is all this?

Second Scho. Hearing your worship kept
within your cell

A glass prospective, wherein men might see,
What so their thoughts, or hearts' desire could
wish,

We come to know how that our fathers fare.

Bacon. My glass is free for every honest man.

* * * * *

(He breaks his glass.)

Bun. What means learn'd Bacon thus to
break his glass?

Bacon. I tell thee, Bungay, it repents me sore,
That ever Bacon meddled in this art.

The hours I have spent in pyromantic spells,
The fearful tossing in the latest night
Of papers full of necromantic charms,
Conjuring and adjuring devils and fiends,
With stole and albe, and strange pentageron;
The wresting of the holy name of God,
As Sother, Eloim, and Adonai.
Alpha, Manoth, and Tetragrammaton,
With praying to the five-fold powers of heaven,
Are instances that Bacon must be damn'd,
For using devils to countervail his God.

Yet, Bacon, cheer thee, drown not in despair.
Sins have their salves, repentance can do much:
Think Mercy sits where Justice holds her seat,
And from those wounds those bloody Jews did
pierce,

Which by thy magic oft did bleed afresh,
From thence for thee the dew of mercy drops,
To wash the wrath of high Jehovah's ire,
And make thee as a new-born babe from sin.
Bungay, I'll spend the remnant of my life

In pure devotion, praying to my God,
That he would save what Bacon vainly lost.
* * * * * (Exeunt.

Hen. But why stands friar Bacon here so mute?

Bacon. Repentant for the follies of my youth,
That magic's secret mysteries misled,
And joyful that this royal marriage
Portends such bliss unto this matchless realm.

Hen. Why, Bacon,
What strange event shall happen to this land?
Or what shall grow from Edward and his queen?

Bacon. I find by deep prescience of mine art,
Which once I temper'd in my secret cell,
That here where Brute did build his Troynovant,
From forth the royal garden of a king,
Shall flourish out so rich and fair a bud,
Whose brightness shall deface proud Phœbus'
flower,

And over-shadow Albion with her leaves.
Till then, Mars shall be master of the field,
But then the stormy threats of wars shall cease:
The horse shall stamp as careless of the pike,
Drums shall be turn'd to timbrels of delight;
With wealthy favours plenty shall enrich
The strond that gladdened wandering Brute to see,
And peace from heaven shall harbour in these
leaves,

That gorgeous beautify this matchless flower.
Apollo's heliotropion then shall stoop,
And Venus' hyacinth shall veil her top;
Juno shall shut her gilliflowers up,
And Pallas' bay shall 'bash her brightest green;
Ceres' carnation in consort with those,
Shall stoop and wonder at Diana's rose.

741 St. Nicholas Avenue

New York, February 24, 1921

B. B.

SHAKESPEARE'S CONNECTION WITH THE INNS OF COURT

It is pleasant to know that two of Shakespeare's comedies were performed at the famous Inns of Court—*The Comedy of Errors* at Grays Inn on December 28, 1594, and *Twelfth Night* in the Middle Temple Hall February, 1601.

John Manningham, a student in the Middle Temple, has written the following in his table-book, 2 Febr., 1601: "At our feast wee had a play called Twelve Night, or what you will, much like the commedy of errores, or Menechmi in Plautis, but most like and neere to that in Italian called *Inganni*. A good practice in it to make the steward believe his lady widdowe was in love with him, by counterfayting a letter as from his lady, in generall termes, telling him what she liked best in him, and prescribing his gesture in smiling, his apparaile, &c., and then when he came to practice making him believe they took him to be mad."

In the same diary, Manningham gives an anecdote about Shakespeare which was related to him by a *Mr. Curle*.¹

In the *Pension Book of Grays Inn*, I find on the 12th of June, 1616, p. 221: "Mr. Auditor Curle being admitted of the howse is caled an Ancient & to have place above all the Ancients." And on 21 Oct., 1618: "Mr. Auditor Curle and Mr. Gulson called to the Bench."²

Some one has said, "Laughter is only the bright side of a tear," and I have thought Shakespeare may have found in Grays Inn a model for his mad Malvolio. Mr.

¹See Shakespeare's Century of Praise, 2nd Ed., p. 45.

²Ibid, p. 232.

Fletcher, Editor of the *Pension Book of Grays Inn*, p. 100, has this foot note relating to the butler, John Somerscales, in 1593:

“Somerscales went out of his mind. He was sent to Bethlehem Hospital (Bedlam) and there maintained at the expense of the Society.” Shakespeare was living in Bishopsgate about this time, we are told, and *Bedlam* was in Bishopsgate ward. It is my belief the poet sometimes visited this hospital and studied the different phases of madness. Else how could he have given us such a truthful delineation of mental aberration as we find in the fair *Ophelia*, in “*Poor Tom’s-a-cold*,” and in *King Lear*? If, as I believe, Bacon befriended the poet, he would have known all about Somerscales; and, as Bacon took a sympathetic interest in the poor butler, perhaps Shakespeare would drop in to see him now and then and report to Bacon how he was getting on. At the Pension 14 May, 35 Eliz: It was:

“Ordryd that John Somerscales the pune butler which is now visyted with sicness shalbe wekely allowed v^s by the weke during hys sickness to be payd hym by the Steward out of thadmyttance money.”¹

And:

1594 [31 Jan.] “At the same pencion yt ys orderyd & agreed that Anthony Catmer shall serve in the Buttrie as Butler in the stead of John Somerscales & for hym and shall have & collect to thuse of the sayd Anthony soch fees as wer due & accustomyd to be payd to the said Somerscales. And thereof shall paye to the sayd Somerscales yearly duringe hys lunacy iii^{li} vi^s viii^d. And yt ys lykewyse orderyd that the said Somerscales shall have vi^{li} xiii^s iiiii^d of the stocke of the howse for this yeare. And

¹Ibid, p. 100.

yt ys.further in the sayd pencion agreed that yf yt shall please God at any tyme hereafter to restore the sayd John Somerscales to hys perfect sence & memorye agayne that then the said John yf he shall lyke thereof shall & may com & execute hys place agayne in the buttrye & shall have soch fees and commodyties as heretofore he hath had.”¹

I know it is mere conjecture on my part that Shakespeare took this poor porter’s case to illustrate a pretended madness in Malvolio. Among Bacon’s accounts for 1602-1605 we find:

“Payde the 26th of Feb: 1602 unto Mr. Parrett the Keper of Bethelem for keepinge of John Somerscales from the 6 of November unto the daie aforesaid beinge 16 weekes 2 15 10.”²

So I imagine the unfortunate man never recovered his mind.

Some years ago I maintained that Shakespeare found the source of his plot for *Love’s Labors Lost* at Grays Inn. And I still feel thoroughly convinced that he did. Queen Elizabeth’s aversion to matrimony is well known, also that anecdote of her when she said to Bishop Whitgift she “liked him the better because he was not married,” and his answer, “Madame, I like you the worse for the same reason.” Bishop Whitgift had been Francis Bacon’s tutor at Cambridge, and in May, 1593, the *Venus and Adonis* year, he became a member of Grays Inn. It has been said no source of the plot of *Love’s Labors Lost* has been discovered, so I will give here what I think inspired it. *Love’s Labours Lost* was the first play to appear with Shakespeare’s name printed on the title page. It was dated 1598 and called:

¹Ibid, p. 102.

²Pension Book, p. 490.

A PLEASANT, CONCEITED COMEDIE CALLED
LOVE'S LABOURS LOST. AS IT WAS PER-
FORMED BEFORE HER HIGHNESS THIS
LAST CHRISTMAS. NEWLY CORRECTED
AND AUGMENTED BY W. SHAKESPERE. IM-
PRINTED AT LONDON BY W. W. FOR CUT-
BERT BURBY, 1598.

As New Year's Day always fell upon March 25th at that period, the new *statutes* made for Grays Inn by Elizabeth in 1598 would have given plenty of time before Christmas for Shakespeare to write this parody on them. The Queen's *statutes* must have created much merriment among the young gentlemen of Grays Inn and great anxiety in the lower quarters among the "meaner sort," as the following illustration will prove:

1598 PENSION 15th Nov: 40 Eliz: Present:—BRO-
GRAVE, BACON, STANHOPE, HALES, FUL-
LER, PELHAM, BETTENHAM, LANY,
NIGHTINGALE, BARKER, GERRARD, BRAC-
KIN, WILBRAHAM and ELLIS.

"It is also at the present pencon agreed that the Reader in Divinitie to be chosen shalbee a man unmarried & having noe ecclesiasticall livinge other than a prebend without cure of soules nor Readershippe in any other place & shall kepe the same place so long as hee shall continewe unmarried & without beinge preferred to such ecclesiasticall livinge or other Readershippe & no longer. And that hee bee not further charged with reading than twice in the weeke savinge in the weeke wherein there is Communion." *Pension Book Grays Inn*, p. 139.

And further:

1598 PENSION 7th Feb: 41 Eliz: Present:—BRO-GRAVE, HESKETH, BACON, WHINKINS, POOLEY, FULLER, PELHAM, LANY, NIGHT-INGALE, BETTENHAM, BARKER, PEPPER, GERRARD, BRAKINE, CALFIELD, WILBRAHAM, ELLIS.

“At this pencion Mr. Shaxton is elected Preacher or Divinytie Reader to this Societie so that hee will accept the same under the Rules and condicons in that behalfe heretofore agreed upon by pencon viz: not to bee capable thereof if hee bee married or have any other ecclesiasticall living with cure of soules & thoughe not beinge soe att. the time of his eleccion not to continewe soe longer then as hee shall remaine unmarried & without such ecclesiasticall livinge as aforesaid. And if that Mr. Shaxton shall not like to accept the same place under thes condicons then is Mr. Fenton elected Preacher to this Societie so that he will also accept & continewe the same under the same condicons. And if hee shall not like to accept of the place in such manner & under such condicons then is Mr. Heron elected Preacher or Divinitie Reader to this Society under the same rules & condicons if he will soe accept & continewe in the same. And it is further agreed that Mr. Shaxton doe deliver his resolute answer of his acceptinge or refusall of this place before the first Mondaye in Lent next & if hee shall refuse the place that then Mr. Fenton doe deliver his answere therein before the third Mondaye in Lent & upon his refusall that Mr. Heron doe therein deliver his reso-

lute answer before the fifth Mondaye in Lent next." *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141.

The Ed. of the *Pension Book* says in a note:

"Apparently Mr. Shaxton did not accept the conditions laid down—conditions which suggest that the Queen's well-known prejudice in favour of the celibacy of the clergy was shared by the Benchers. Roger Fenton, who was appointed, accepted the conditions, but broke at least one of them, for he had conjointly with his preachership, first the rectory of St. Benet's Sherehog (1603-6), and then the vicarage of Chigwell, Essex (1606-15). Shortly after his appointment he was elected fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. He was one of the translators who produced the Authorized Version of the Bible, and is said to have been a popular preacher. He published a 'Treatise on Usurie,' in three books, and many sermons. His successor at Chigwell, in referring to him, wrote of 'those Grayes Inne whose hearts bled through their eyes when they saw him dead.' He did not take the degree of Doctor till a year or two before his death in 1615-16." *Ibid.*, p. 140.

From Gorhambury, Francis Bacon writes to Sir Michael Hicks, 27 Aug., 1610: "I heartily wish I had your company here at my mother's funeral. . . . I dare promise you a good sermon to be made by Mr. Fenton, the preacher of Grays Inn; for he never maketh other." Spedding's *Letters and Life*, IV, p. 217. I believe Bacon helped Fenton in his "*Treatise on Usurie*."

To return to *Love's Labours Lost*. Shakespeare's patron, the Earl of Southampton, secretly married about this time, and when the Queen learned it she had the young lady sent to the Fleet, and the Earl also imprisoned. In 1604 Southampton had this play performed before Queen Anne.

To me the following from *Love's Labors Lost* illustrates how the gentlemen of Grays Inn took the Queen's statutes:

ACT I—SCENE 1. Navarre. *A Park, with a Palace in it*

Enter the KING. BIRON. LONGAVILLE and DUMAIN.

King. . . . Therefore, brave conquerors!—for so you are,

That war against your own affections.
And the huge army of the world's desires,—
Our late edict shall strongly stand in force;
Navarre shall be the wonder of the world;
Our court shall be a little Academe,
Still and contemplative in living art.
You three, Biron, Dumain, and Longaville,
Have sworn for three years' term to live with me,
My fellow-scholars, and to keep those statutes,
That are recorded in this schedule here:
Your oaths are past and now subscribe your names. . . .

Biron. I can but say their protestation over,
So much, dear liege, I have already sworn,
That is, To live and study here three years.
But there are other strict observances:
As, not to see a woman in that term;
Which, I hope well, is not enrolled there. . . .

. . . But Biron consents to sign and says:

Biron. Give me the paper, let me read the same,
And to the strictest decrees I'll sign my name.

King. How well this yielding rescues thee from shame:

Biron. [*Reads.*]

Item, That no woman shall come within a mile of my court—

Hath this been proclaim'd?

Long. Four days ago.

Biron. Let's see the penalty. [*Reads.*]

—*On pain of losing her tongue.*—

Who devis'd this penalty?

Long. Marry, that did I.

Biron. Sweet lord, and why?

Long. To fright them hence with that dread penalty.

Biron. A dangerous law against gentility.

[*Reads.*]

Item, if any man be seen to talk with a woman within the term of three years, he shall endure such public shame as the rest of the court shall possibly devise.—

This article, my liege, yourself must break;

For, well you know, here comes in embassy

The French king's daughter, with yourself to speak . . .

King. We must, of force, dispense with this decree;
She must lie here on mere necessity.

Biron. Necessity will make us all forsworn

Three thousand times within this three years' space:
For every man with his affects is born;

Not by might master'd, but by special grace.

If I break faith, this word shall speak for me,

I am forsworn on mere necessity.—

So to the laws at large I write my name: [*Subscribes.*]

And he that breaks them in the least degree,
Stands in attainder of eternal shame:

Suggestions are to others, as to me;

But, I believe, although I seem so loth;

I am the last that will last keep his oath.

But is there no quick recreation granted?

King. Ay, that there is; our court, you know, is haunted

With a refined traveller of Spain;

A man in all the world's new fashion planted,

That hath a mint of phrases in his brain:

One whom the music of his own vain tongue

Doth ravish, like enchanting harmony;
A man of complements, whom right and wrong
Have chose as umpire of their mutiny:
This child of fancy, that Armado hight,
For interim to our studies, shall relate,
In high-born words, the worth of many a knight
From tawny Spain, lost in the world's debate.
How you delight, my lords, I know not, I;
But, I protest, I love to hear him lie,
And I will use him for my minstrelsy.

Biron. Armado is a most illustrious wight
A man of fire-new words, fashion's own knight.

Long. Costard, the swain, and he, shall be our sport;
And, so to study, three years is but short.

Enter DULL, with a letter, and COSTARD

Dull. Which is the duke's own person?

Biron. This fellow; What wouldst?

Dull. I myself reprehend his own person, for I am his
grace's tharborough: but I would see his own person in
flesh and blood.

Biron. This is he.

Dull. Signior Arme—Arme—commends you.
There's villainy abroad; this letter will tell you more.

Cost. Sir, the contempts thereof are as touching me.

King. A letter from the magnificent Armado.

Biron. How low soever the matter, I hope in God for
high words.

Long. A high hope for a low heaven: God grant us
patience!

Biron. To hear? or forbear hearing?

Long. To hear meekly, sir, and to laugh moderately;
or to forbear both.

Biron. Well, sir, be it as the style shall give us cause
to climb in the merriness.

Cost. The matter is to me, sir, as concerning Jaquenetta. The manner of it is, I was taken with the manner.

Biron. In what manner?

Cost. In manner and form following, sir; all those three: I was seen with her in the manorhouse, sitting with her upon the form, and taken following her into the park; which, put together, is in manner and form following. Now, sir, for the manner,—it is the manner of a man to speak to a woman: for the form,—in some form.

Biron. For the following, sir?

Cost. As it shall follow in my correction;
And God defend the right!

King. Will you hear this letter with attention?

Biron. As we would hear an oracle.

Cost. Such is the simplicity of man to hearken after the flesh.

King. [*Reads.*] “*Great deputy, the welkin’s viceroy, and sole dominator of Navarre, my soul’s earth’s God, and body’s fostering patron,—*

Cost. Not a word of Costard yet.

King. “*So it is,—*

Cost. It may be so: but if he say it is so, he is, in telling true, but so.

King. Peace!

Cost. —be to me, and every man that dares not fight!

King. No words:

Cost.—Of other men’s secrets, I beseech you.

King. “*So it is, besieged with sable-coloured melancholy, I did commend the black-oppressing humour to the most wholesome physic of thy health-giving air: and, as I am a gentleman, betook myself to walk. The time when? About the sixth hour; when beasts most graze, birds best peck, and men sit down to that nourishment which is called supper. So much for the time when: Now for the*

ground which; which, I mean, I walked upon: it is ycleped thy park. Then for the place where; where, I mean, I did encounter that obscene and most preposterous event, that draweth from my snow-white pen the ebon-coloured ink, which here thou viewest, beholdest, surveyest, or seest: But to the place where,—It standeth north-north-east and by east from the west corner of thy curious-knotted garden. There did I see that low-spirited swain, that base minnow of thy mirth.

Cost. Me?

King. —“that unlette’d small-knowing soul,

Cost. Me?

King. —“that shallow vassal,

Cost. Still me?

King. —“which as I remember, high Costard.

Cost. O me!

King. —“sorted, and consorted, contrary to thy established proclaimed edict and continent canon, with—with, —O with—but with this I passion to say wherewith,

Cost. With a wench.

King. —“with a child of our grandmother Eve, a female; or, for thy more sweet understanding, a woman. Him I (as my ever esteemed duty pricks me on) have sent to thee, to receive the meed of punishment, by thy sweet grace’s officer, Antony Dull; a man of good repute, carriage, bearing, and estimation.

Dull. Me, an’t shall please you; I am Antony Dull.

King. “For Jaquenetta (so is the weaker vesser called, which I apprehend with the aforesaid swain) I keep her as a vessel of thy law’s fury; and shall, at the least of thy sweet notice, bring her to trial. Thine, in all compliments of devoted and heart-burning heat of duty,

DON ADRIANO DE ARMADO.”

Biron. This is not so well as I looked for, but the best that ever I heard.

King. Ay, the best for the worst. But, sirrah, what say you to this?

Cost. Sir, I confess the wench.

King. Did you hear the proclamation?

Cost. I do confess much of the hearing it, but little of the marking of it.

King. It was proclaimed a year's imprisonment, to be taken with a wench.

Cost. I was taken with none, sir; I was taken with a damosel.

King. Well, it was proclaimed damosel.

Cost. This was no damosel, neither, sir; she was a virgin.

King. It is so varied too; for it was proclaimed virgin.

Cost. If it were, I deny her virginity; I was taken with a maid.

King. This maid will not serve your turn, sir.

Cost. This maid will serve my turn, sir.

King. Sir, I will pronounce your sentence: You shall fast a week with bran and water.

Cost. I had rather pray a month with mutton and porridge.

King. And Don Armado shall be your keeper,—
My lord Biron, see him deliver'd o'er.—

And go we, lords, to put in practice, that

Which each to other hath so strongly sworn.—

[*Exeunt KING, LONGVILLE, and DUMAIN.*]

Biron. I'll lay my head to any good man's hat,

These oaths and laws will prove an idle scorn.

Sirrah, come on.

Cost. I suffer for the truth, sir: for true it is, I was taken with Jaquenetta, and Jaquenetta is a true girl; and

therefore, Welcome the sour cup of prosperity! Affliction may one day smile again, and until then, Sit down, Sorrow!

We have in this first act, it seems to me, observed the effect of Elizabeth's edict on the students of Grays Inn, but the following from the *Pension Book* proves that the "Master Butler and the Master Cooke" won out, better than the "Officers of the house."

1599 PENSION 10th June, 41 Eliz:

"It is ordered that from henceforth none of the officers of this house shall keepe or enjoye his office any longer than they shall keep themselves sole and unmarried exceptinge the stuard the chiefe Butler and the chief Cooke." p. 142.

1602 PENSION 20th Oct: 44 Eliz: Present:—PEEPER, BROGRAVE, HESKETH, BACON, WHISKINS, FULLER, NIGHTINGALE, BRAKIN. GOLDSMITH, ALTHAM, CHAWORTH.

"John Guy is admitted into the office of the paniarman of this house notwithstanding that hee bee now married by reason that hee was married before the order was made against inferior officers mariages in this house & therefore hee havinge served xii yeares painefullye he is admitted to the said office, the said former order notwithstandinge." *Ibid.*, p. 159.

Although Biron said, "These oaths and laws will prove an idle scorn," they lingered on. In 1612 we see the following in the *Pension Book*:

1612 "None of the said officers or servitors nowe unmarried or which hereafter shalbee chosen, except the Steward, chiefe Butler & chief cooke, shall con-

tinewe his place longer then hee shall live sole and unmarried." *Ibid.*, p. 199.

Years of study have taught me it is incredible Bacon and Shakespeare should not have known each other, and that nowhere else could the poet have gained in so short a time his knowledge of court manners and law as in the Inns of Court, where all the courtly graces were practiced and where the poet must have had free access. Sir George Buc, the Master of the Revels, who licensed some of Shakespeare's plays, had been a member of the Middle Temple, where *Twelfth Night* was performed February 2, 1601. Sir George Buc, writing of the "Colleges of London," 1612, has this to say of the Inner Temple ensign:

"But, if the fellows and gentlemen of the Inner Temple have taken for the device or ensign of their college, a Pegasus, or flying horse, sables or gules, upon a shield Or, as I hear that they did in the reign of the late queen of immortal memory, then they are already fairly armed. And, because the utter-Temple neither is, nor was ever any college or society of students, and therefore not to be considered here, I will leave the choice of either of these old devices and ensigns to the gentlemen of the Middle Temple, they not having as yet, to my knowledge, chosen or appropriated any ensign to their society or college; to whom, and to their house and studies, I wish all honour and prosperity, for my particular obligation, having been sometimes a fellow and student (or, to confess a truth, a truant,) in that most honourable house." Pearce's *Inns of Court*, p. 274.

I believe the shield of *Pegasus* for the Inner Temple was inaugurated in 1561 in the masque of *Palaphilos*.

Elizabeth, the "Fairie Queen," seems to have inspired these ardent youths with more liking for poetry than for law. Hence the winged Horse of the Muses for their coat armor or device.

Here I will digress a bit to ask if it is not probable Shakespeare learned from the herald, William Segar, how to make "Imprisses" when, in 1594, Segar made or caused to be made the "sheilds and their Emprisses" for the Gesta Grayorum? Take it all in all, Grays Inn was a splendid school for the poet to learn in. Mr. Stevens' late discovery among the Belvoir MSS. prompts this inquiry:

"31. Martii. To Mr. Shakespeare in gold, about my Lord's impreso, XIIVS. To Richard Burbage for paynting & making yt, in gold XLIVS . . . iiii. viiis."

It is to be hoped Shakespeare was paid more promptly for his service than Segar, for I find the following in the *Pension Book of Grays Inn*. p. 111:

1595 "It is further ordered at this pencion that vi^{li} claymed by one Mr. Segar the Quens servant for nyne sheilds & their emprisses be discharged in part of payment whereof iii^{li} xvi^s viii^d received for Mr. Terhingham's fyne admitted this pencion was delyvered over to Mr. Johnson for that use."

The Editor adds:

"This would be William Segar, who was during this reign successively Somerset herald and Norroy King-at-arms. Early in the next reign he became Garter King-at-arms, and in 1616 was knighted. In the following year he was admitted a member of the Inn."

1596 PENSION 11th Feb: 38 Eliz: Present—BRO-GRAVE, ANGER, POLEY, PELHAM, BET-TENHAM. LANY, NIGHTINGALE and BAR-KER.

“It is ordered that there shall bee payd out of thadmittance money to Somersett the Herold reasidue of a debte due xl^s iii^ld.” *Ibid.*, p. 113.

Among those employed at Grays Inn I find John Buck, who may have been related to the Master of the Revels:

1579 PENSION 6th July, 21 Eliz: Present:—BAR-TON, COLBIE, AUNGER, WHISKINS, YEL-VERTON, SNAGG, CARDINALL, BROGRAVE and KEMPE.

“It is ordered that John Buck shall be allowed toe be in Davyes rome in the buttrye when the said Davy shall leave the same office.” p. 39.

Item for my (Buck’s) charges of horse hire & other expenses in rydinge to Nonsuche her Maties Court wth aunswere to the Counsailers towching Robin Hoods stake defacing viii^s vii^d. *Ibid.*, p. 488.

Also the following at a Pension held 28 May, 1599:

Mr. Buck’s resignation of his office of Stewardship of this house is accepted, and Mr. Richard Ockhold is chosen Steward.

Sir George Buc succeeded his uncle, Edward Tilney, as Master of the Revels, in 1610. The Tilneys also were members of Grays Inn:

1590 PENSION 19th May, 32 Eliz: Present: BRO-GRAVE, ANGER, CARDINALL, KEMP, DAN-IELL, STANHOPE, SPURLING, HALES, FULLER, BACON, ST. LEGER, LANCASTER, WADE.

“Mr. Jenour, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Grene & Mr. Tylney called to the barr by Mr. Wade last reader are only allowed for utter-baristers of that call.” *Ibid.*, p. 87.

1600 Mr. Robert Tilney the elder, having paid all his vacations and commons due by him to the Society, is restored to his former degré of ancienty. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

That Shakespeare was exceedingly fond of the Inns of Court, we see in his dramas, wherein he honors so many of their distinguished members. In the *Gesta Grayorum* we find a gentleman by the name of Markham was given the role of Lord Chamberlain of the Household. Pearce, in his able work, *The Inns of Court and Chancery*, p. 338, has this to say of one of this gentleman's ancestors, who also belonged to Grays Inn:

“The next member of this society whose name is remembered is John Markham, one of the Judges of the Common Pleas. Having filled the office of reader in Grays Inn, Markham was in the year 1391 called to the degree of a serjeant-at-law, and on the 7th July, 1397, was constituted one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, by King Richard II. He was probably the father of John Markham, the Lord Chief Justice of England, who was distinguished for his honest and fearless opposition to the wishes of the crown. The younger Markham was also a member of this inn and his arms are yet preserved in the north-east window of the hall. On the 6th of February, A. D. 1444, in the 22 Henry VI., he was constituted one of the Justices *ad Plac. coram Rege*; and on the 13th May, A. D. 1462, was created Lord Chief Justice by King Edward IV. Stow informs us, ‘And because that Sir John Markham, then Chief Justice, determined somewhat

against the king's pleasure, that the offence done by Sir Thomas Cooke (who was arraigned at the Guildhall, on a vague charge of treason) was no treason, but misprison, the which was no desert of *death*, but to be *fin'd* at the king's pleasure; the Lord Rivers and the Duchess of Bedford, his wife, procured that he lost his office afterwards.' Lord Coke enumerates Sir John Markham as one of the famous and expert sages of the law in the time of Littleton."

The Sir Thomas Cooke here mentioned was Francis Bacon's great-great-great-grandfather, who was contemporary with Chief Justice William Gascoyne, whom Shakespeare brought into two of his dramas, namely, second part, *Henry IV.*, Act V., and in *Henry V.* Sir William Gascoyne was a student and reader of Grays Inn in 1398. Bacon's kinsman, Sir Thomas Cooke, was also a contemporary of Sir John Fastolf of Caistor Castle, supposed by some to be "the old man of the castle," and of Boars Head fame in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Shakespeare gives us this fine picture of Judge Gascoyne:

King Henry V. How might a Prince of my great hopes
forget
So great indignities you laid upon me?
What! rate, rebuke, and roughly send to prison
The immediate heir of England! Was this easy?
May this be wash'd in Lethe and forgotten?

Chief Justice. I then did use the person of your father;
The image of his power lay then in me!
And in the administration of his law,
Whiles I was busy for the Commonwealth,
Your highness pleased to forget my place,
The majesty and power of Law and Justice,
The image of the King, whom I presented,
And struck me in my very seat of judgment;

Whereon, as an offender to your father,
I gave bold way to my authority,
And did commit you. If the deed were ill,
Be you contented, wearing now the garland,
To have a son set your decrees at nought;
To pluck down justice from your awful bench;
To trip the course of law, and blunt the sword
That guards the peace and safety of your person:
Nay, more; to spurn at your most royal image,
And mock your workings in a second body.
Question your royal thoughts, make the case yours,
Be now the father and propose a son:
Hear your own dignity so much profan'd,
See your most dreadful laws so loosely slighted,
Behold yourself so by a son disdain'd;
And then imagine me taking your part,
And in your power soft silencing your son:
After this cold consideration, sentence me;
And as you are a King, speak in your state,
What I have done that misbecame my place,
My person, or my liege's sovereignty.

King. You are right, Justice, and you weigh this well;
Therefore still bear the balance and the sword.

The poet in *Henry VIII*, Act V., Scene 1, honors another Grays Inn lawyer, Thomas Cromwell, who served Cardinal Wolsey so faithfully:

“O Cromwell, Cromwell,
Had I but serv'd my God with half the zeal
I serv'd my king, he would not in my age
Have left me naked to mine enemies.”

Another Grays Inn man in the same drama is Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Lord High Chancellor of England, who became Cromwell's enemy. Pearce says:

"Cromwell was admitted of Gray's Inn, A. D. 1524; in ten years afterwards he was one of the ancients of the society; in the year 1535 he was advanced to the offices of Secretary to the Privy Council, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Master of the Rolls, and Lord Privy Seal. He was known to be favourably disposed towards the new doctrines:—

Bishop Gardiner. Do I not know you for a favourer
Of this new sect? Ye are not sound.

Cromwell. Not sound?

Gar. Not sound, I say.

Crom. Would you were half so honest!
Men's prayers then would see you, not their fears.

Gar. I shall remember this bold language.

Crom. Do.

Remember your bold life, too.—*Henry VIII.*, Act V,
Scene 1. Pearce's *Hist. Inns of Court*, p. 349.

I firmly believe Shakespeare paid a compliment to the Bacon family by bringing into this same drama Sir William Butts, the King's favorite physician. Sir William Butts married a kinswomen of Sir Nicholas Bacon's. *The Dictionary of National Biography* tells us from 1524 to 1545 Dr. Butts "was constantly employed as physician at the Court," and that "the King, his Queens, Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour, the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen Mary, the King's natural son, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, Cardinal Wolsey, the Duke of Norfolk, Sir Thomas Lovell, George Boleyn, and Lord Rochford are all known to have been his patients." . . . Also that: "When Wolsey was in disgrace Butts tried to reconcile the King to him, and his interposition in favour of Archbishop Cranmer is well known to readers of Shakespeare." (*Henry VIII.*, Act V, Scene 2.)

Here is the passage:

Enter DOCTOR BUTTS.

Cran.

So.

Butts. This is a piece of malice. I am glad,
I came this way so happily: The king
Shall understand it presently. [*Exit* BUTTS.]

Cran. [Aside.] 'Tis Butts,
The king's physician; as he pass'd along,
How earnestly he cast his eyes upon me!
Pray heaven, he sound not my disgrace! For certain,
This is of purpose laid by some that hate me,
(God turn their hearts! I never sought their malice,)
To quench mine honour: they would shame to make me
Wait else at door; a fellow-counsellor,
Among boys, grooms, and lackeys. But their pleasures
Must be fulfill'd, and I attend with patience.

Enter, at a window above, the KING and BUTTS.

Butts. I'll show your grace the strangest sight,—

K. Hen. What's that, Butts?

Butts. I think your highness saw this many a day.

K. Hen. Body o' me, where is it?

Butts. There, my lord:

The high promotion of his grace of Canterbury;
Who holds his state at door, 'mongst pusuivants,
Pages, and footboys.

K. Hen.

Ha! 'Tis he, indeed:

Is this the honour they do one another
'T is well there's one above them yet. I had thought
They had parted so much honesty among them,
(At least, good manners,) as not thus to suffer
A man of his place, and so near our favour,
To dance attendance on their lordships' pleasures,
And at the door too, like a post with packets.
By holy Mary, Butts, there's knavery:

Let them alone, and draw the curtain close;
We shall hear more anon.

[*Exeunt.*

The article in the D. N. B. on Dr. Butts says: "He married Margaret Bacon, of Cambridgeshire, and left three sons: Sir William, of Thornage, Norfolk; Thomas, of Great Riburgh, Norfolk, and Edmund, of Barrow, Suffolk. . . . Edmund alone had issue, one daughter, who married Sir Nicholas Bacon, eldest son of Sir Nicholas, keeper of the great seal." One of their sons was Sir Nathaniel Bacon, the Artist, who married Jane Lady Cornwallis, widow of Sir William Cornwallis, of Brome Hall. See *the Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis*, 1613-1644, Lond. 1848. Anne, the daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon and Lady Jane, became the wife of Sir Thomas Meautys, Bacon's friend and secretary, who erected the tomb to Bacon in St. Michael's Church, Gorhambury, and was buried there at his master's feet in 1649. The play of King Henry the Eighth was first published in the folio of 1623. It was being performed at the Globe in June, 1613, when that famous theatre was destroyed by fire. We learn the date of this event from two of Bacon's friends, Thomas Lorkin and Sir Henry Wotton. Lorkin writes to Sir Thomas Puckering, June, 1613: "No longer since than yesterday, while Bourbage, his company, were acting at the Globe the play of Henry VIII., and there shooting of certain chambers in way of triumph, the fire catch'd." And Wotton, writing to Bacon's half-nephew, Edward Bacon, on 6th July, 1613: "Now to let matters of State sleep, I will entertain you at the present with what happened this week at the Bank-side. The King's players had a new *play*, called *All is True*, representing *some principal pieces of the reign of Henry the Eighth*, which was set forth with many extraordinary circumstances of pomp and majesty, even to

the matting of the stage; the knights of the order, with their Georges and Garter, the guards with their embroidered coats and the like; sufficient, in truth, within a while to make greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now King Henry, making a mask at the Cardinal Wolsey's house, and certain cannons being shot off at his entry, some of the paper, or other stuff wherewith one of them was stopped, did light on the thatch, where, being thought at first but an idle smoke, and their eyes being more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, consuming, within less than an hour, the whole house to the very ground. This was the fatal period of that virtuous fabric, wherein yet nothing did perish but wood and straw, and a few forsaken cloaks; only one man had his breeches set on fire, that would perhaps have broiled him, if he had not, by the benefit of a provident wit, put it out with bottle ale."—*Reliquiae Wottonianae*.

It will be noticed Lorkin spoke of "Bourbage his company" and that Wotton called the company "the King's players." I call attention to this because there is no record of Shakespeare's ever being the manager of a company or the manager of a theatre, although that is the general belief. See Halliwell Phillips' *Shakespeare's Tours*, p. 9.

Rowland White writing to Sir Robert Sydney, January, 1597: "The quarrell of my Lord *Southampton* to *Ambrose Willoughby*, grew upon this. That he with Sir *Walter Rawley*, and Mr. Parker, being at Primero in the Presence Chamber, the Queen was gone to Bed; and he being there, as Squier for the Body, desired them to give over. Soon after he spake to them againe, that if they would not leave, he would call in the Gard to pull down the Bord, which Sir *Walter Rawley* seeing, put up his

Money, and went his ways. But my Lord *Southampton* took Exceptions at hym, and told hym he would remember yt, and so finding hym between the *Tennis Court Wall*, and the Garden, strooke hym, and *Willoughby* puld of some of his Lockes." *Sydney Papers*, 11.83.

This is comic enough for the scene in *Twelfth Night*, Act II, Scene III.

Shakespeare, who must have heard much of Court gossip, may have utilized this scrap as follows:

Enter MARIA

Mar. What a catterwauling do you keep here! If my lady have not called up her steward, Malvolio, and bid him turn you out of doors, never trust me.

Sir To. My lady's Cataian, we are politicians; Malvolio's a Peg-a-Ramsay, and *Three merry men be we*. Am not I consanguineous? am not I of her blood? Tilly-valley, lady! *There dwelt a man in Babylon, lady, lady!*

[*Singing.*

A Room in Olivia's House.

Enter Sir TOBY BELCH and Sir ANDREW AGUECHEEK.

Sir To. Approach, sir Andrew: not to be a-bed after midnight, 'is to be up betimes; and *diluculo surgere*, thou know'st, ——

Sir And. Nay, by my troth, I know not: but I know, to be up late, is to be up late.

Sir To. A false conclusion; I hate it as an unfilled can: To be up after midnight, and to go to bed then is early: so that, to go to bed after midnight, is to go to bed betimes. Do not our lives consist of the four elements?

Sir And. 'Faith, so they say; but, I think, it rather consists of eating and drinking.

Sir To. Thou art a scholar; let us therefore eat and drink. — Marian, I say! — a stoop of wine.

Enter MALVOLIO.

Mal. My masters, are you mad? or what are you? Have you no wit, manners, nor honesty, but to gabble like tinkers at this time of night? Do ye make an ale-house of my lady's house, that ye squeak out your coziers' catches without any mitigation or remorse of voice! Is there no respect of place, persons, nor time, in you?

Sir To. We did keep time, sir, in our catches. Sneck up!

Mal. Sir Toby, I must be round with you. My lady bade me tell you, that, though she harbours you as her kinsman, she's nothing allied to your disorders. If you can separate yourself and your misdemeanors, you are welcome to the house; if not, an it would please you to take leave of her, she is very willing to bid you farewell.

SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS CONTROLLED BY BACON'S FRIENDS

It is a fact Shakespeare's plays were written exclusively for the Lord Chamberlain's company, and a fact also that his dramas continued under the control of that officer of the Court down to the time of King Charles I, or at any rate to 1662, while Sir Henry Herbert was Master of the Revels. On Shakespeare's arrival in London, Sir Henry Carey, Queen Elizabeth's cousin, was Lord Chamberlain and was the censor or licenser of all plays presented at Court. In stage matters his word was law. Now, how did Shakespeare, an unknown youth from Stratford-upon-Avon, become one of this Lord Hunsdon's servants? As we have no personal proof to help us on this point, we must use discreet conjecture. My opinion is Bacon, more than any other man in London, could have helped Shakespeare to advancement in the theatrical world. Bacon's fondness for masques and revels is well known. He had in 1588 partly composed or "contrived" dumb shows and acted in them before the Queen at Greenwich Palace. His first cousin, Sir Edward Hoby, had married Margaret Carey, the Lord Chamberlain's daughter. This fact alone would enable Bacon to recommend the poet to Lord Hunsdon's notice.

Many of Bacon's friends were exceedingly fond of the drama, among them the Earls of Essex and Southampton. The young Earl of Southampton, to whom Shakespeare dedicated his *Venus and Adonis* in 1593, and his *Lucrece* in 1594, was present at the *Gesta Grayorum* and a member of Grays Inn. He was, on the death of his father, made a royal ward, and Bacon's uncle, William Cecil (Lord Burghley), became his guardian. Is it not natural to assume Bacon was well acquainted with this young nobleman and that he could have introduced

Shakespeare to him? Lord Burghley had also been the guardian of the Earl of Essex, Southampton's dearest friend, who was very intimate with Anthony and Francis Bacon.

My conjecture that Bacon could have helped Shakespeare is therefore plausible.

It was through the Lord Chamberlain's courtesy that the *Comedy of Errors* was performed at Grays Inn, as mentioned in the *Gesta Grayorum*, for Shakespeare was one of his servants. In fact all who helped Shakespeare most throughout his career in London were known to Bacon and were among his friends. Henry Carey (Lord Hundson and Lord Chamberlain), whose daughter became the wife of Bacon's first cousin, Sir Edward Hoby, was, as I said before, the censor and licenser of all plays performed at Court. The Lord Chamberlain's deputy, Edmund Tilney, the Master of the Revels, who was invested with despotic powers over everything that related to the stage, reigned from 1579 to 1610. After the death of Henry Carey (first Lord Hundson) in 1596, he was succeeded by his son and heir, Sir George Carey, second Lord Hundson, who became Lord Chamberlain,¹ and Shakespeare's services were transferred to this Lord and his plays written for his company. Sir George Carey's residence in the Blackfriars adjoined the Blackfriars Theatre, then owned by James Burbage.

Many of Shakespeare's plays passed through Tilney's hands. On the death of Elizabeth, the Lord Chamberlain's company became the "King's players." Tilney's nephew, George Buc, was knighted by James I in 1603, and succeeded his uncle as Master of the Revels, and Shakespeare's plays continued to be written for the Court players, and henceforth controlled by the Herberts.

¹Henry Brooke, seventh Lord Cobham, held the office a few months only, before his death in April 1597.

Sir George Buc had the pleasure of licensing some of them. See *Notes and Queries*, May, 1850, where it is said Sir George Buc dedicated a book of poems to Lady Bacon as follows:

“To the vertuous Ladye and his most honored friend, the Lady Bacon, at Redgrave, in Suffolk; wife to Sir Edmund Bacon, Prime Baronett of England.”

Sir Nicholas Bacon, not Sir Edmund, was the first Baronet of England.

The Vice Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Heneage, who tried to help Bacon to the Solicitor's place in 1594, and who is mentioned in the *Gesta Grayorum*, had much to do with stage matters in that year. In May, 1594, when Shakespeare dedicated his *Lucrece* to the Earl of Southampton, Sir Thomas Heneage married the mother of this young Earl. So it will be seen in one way or another Shakespeare's poems as well as his dramas were always protected and patronized by Bacon's friends.

In 1596, when the Shakespeare coat-of-arms was applied for, Bacon's friend, the Earl of Essex, was Lord Marshall, and his friends, William Camden and William Dethic, were members of Grays Inn, and helped Shakespeare to secure his coat armor, in spite of many objections from other Heralds and the scandal that arose from it in other quarters.

In 1613, when Shakespeare purchased the Blackfriars property, we find it had belonged to “Mathie” Bacon of Holborn, London.¹

A Mathias Bacon of Holborn, London, was admitted to Grays Inn March 1, 1596-7, *sine fine*.²

¹Halliwell Phillips' *Outlines*.

²Foster's *Ad. Regis.*, p. 91.

I find the following relating to this kinsman of Bacon's:³

"Yt is ordered that iii^s iiiii^d bee payed to Matthew Bacon for wrytinge of a letter to my L. Keeper."

"After my hartie comendacons. Beynge given to understand by this bearer my gentleman usher that in makinge of a wall which you now have in hand between certain grounds of your owne & of his there will a passage or comon way that leadeth from Holborne out into Grayes Inn fields & towards Islington, bee stopped upp: forasmuch as hee informeth mee that the same hath beene an usuall waye tyme out of minde & that hee should receave verry greate preiudice by the shuttinge upp of the same at this present in regarde of certaine buildings which hee hath latelie sett up there: I have thought good in his behalf to move you that untill such time as you have heard his counsaill that may make his title & interest therein knowen unto you, & either make some frendlie agreement herein betwene you or otherwise certifie mee of the points of your difference: you would bee pleased to forbear the erectinge of the said wall: In the which nothinge doubtinge your good regards I leave you to the merciful keepinge of the Almihtie. From York House nere Charinge Crosse the 5th of Feby 1595.

"Your verie lovinge frende

"John PUCKERINGE.

"Postscript: If yt bee a comon passage time out of minde I know it will have that consideration thereof that is fytt, for the interest generall."

The Lord Keeper Puckering owned a residence in Warwickshire and may have known the poet.

³*Penston Book of Grays Inn*, p. 113.

1595 PENSION 10th Feb: 38 Eliz: Present:—GRO-
GRAVE, BACON, ANGER, POLEY, PELHAM,
BETTENHAM, LANY, NIGHTINGALE and
BARKER.

“At this pencion yt ys ordered that a lre shall
be drawn & sent unto the Right Honourable the
L. Keper in aunswer of his letter sent to the Read-
ers of Grayes Inn signed under hands of the sayd
Readers & that the copyes of bothe the sayd lres
shalbe entred in the Pencion Booke.”¹

This “Mathie,” Mathias, or Matthew Bacon was a
Scriviner at Grays Inn and perhaps belonged to the Scriv-
iner’s Company, who bought Bacon House in Noble
Street, which had belonged to Francis Bacon’s father,
Queen Elizabeth’s Lord Keeper. I think it plausible to
conjecture he was one of Bacon’s “good pens” and that
the manuscript of the *Gesta Grayorum* might have been
written by him. See following letter to Anthony Bacon
from Spedding’s *Letters and Life*:

“I pray let me know what mine uncle Killigrew
will do. For I must now be more careful of my
credit than ever, since I receive so little thence
where I deserved best. And to be plain with you,
I mean even to make the best of those small things
I have with as much expedition as may be without
loss; and so sing a mass of *requiem* I hope abroad;
for I know her Majesty’s nature, that she neither
careth though the whole surname of the Bacons
travelled, nor of the Cecils neither.

“I have here an idle pen or two, specially one
that was cozened, thinking to have gotten some
money this term; I pray send me somewhat else
for them to write out besides your Irish collec-
tion, which is almost done. . . . Thus I com-
mend you to God’s good preservation. From my

¹*Ibid.*, p. 112, 1595.

lodge at Twickenham Park, this 25th of January,
1594.

Your entire loving brother,

"FR. BACON."

This letter was written about *Gesta Grayorum* time.

Ben Jonson was another of Bacon's "good pens." We are told that he and Michael Drayton, the poet, visited Shakespeare in Stratford-on-Avon, a short time before his death, and that they had a "merry meeting, and it seems drank too hard, for Shakespeare died of a feavour there contracted."

A year before Shakespeare's death he is again connected with Matthew Bacon. It will be remembered, one Henry Walker purchased from Matthew Bacon a house near the Blackfriars theatre, which he sold to Shakespeare for £140 in March, 1613. A few years ago Professor C. W. Wallace discovered three documents dated April 26, May 15, and May 22, 1615, dealing with a suit in Chancery, in which Shakespeare sought to recover from Matthew Bacon "possession of certain deeds pertaining to property within the precinct of the Blackfriars."²

So from first to last we find Shakespeare connected by documentary history as well as by tradition to some one of Bacon's friends.

Shakespeare died in April, 1616, and seven years after his death, in 1623, his works were given to the world in the first *folio*. This, next to the Bible, is our most precious book. It was dedicated to two of Bacon's warmest friends, one of whom married his cousin.

To William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery. William Earl of Pembroke was Lord Chamberlain to King James I, and his brother Philip, Earl of Montgomery, succeeded him as Lord Chamberlain. Their kinsman, Sir Henry Herbert, became Master of the Revels on the death of Sir Geo. Buc

²*The Facts About Shakespeare*, by Nelson and Thorndike, p. 26, 1913.

in 1623. Sir Henry Herbert was a brother of the poet, George Herbert, to whom Bacon dedicated his "certaine Psalmes" in 1625.

Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, to whom jointly with his brother the *first folio* was dedicated, married, in 1605, Susan Vere, Bacon's second cousin. He was fond of horses and dogs and cared more for sports than for books. King James I, bestowed many favors on him.

The following extracts from a letter written to Bacon after his fall by Sir Thomas Meutys Jan. 3, 1621, refers to this Lord, Philip Herbert Earl of Montgomery:

"May it please your Lordship,

"This afternoon my Lady³ found access to my Lord Markuis⁴ procured for her by my Lord Montgomery and Sir Edward Sackville, who seemed to contend which of them should show most patience in waiting (which they did a whole afternoon) the opportunity to bring my Lord to his chamber, where my Lady attended him."

And again:

"I delivered your Lordship's to my Lord of Montgomery and Mr. Matthew, who was even then come to York-house to visit my Lady when he received the letter; and as soon as he had read it he said that he had rather your Lordship had sent him a challenge, and that it had been easier to answer than so noble and kind a letter. He intends to see your Lordship some time this week; and so doth Sir Edward Sackville, who is forward to make my Lady a way by the Prince, if your Lordship advise it."⁵

The following notes refer also to Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery. They were written by Bacon in 1623:

"There is not an honester man in court than Montgomery." (January 2, 1623.)⁶

³Bacon's wife.

⁴Buckingham.

⁵Spedding's *Bacon's Letters and Life*, pp. 324-325.

⁶*Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 444.

Later on Bacon again writes:

"Montgomery is an honest man and a good observer."

Sir Henry Herbert, kinsman to the "most noble and Incomparable Paire of Brethren, William Earle of Pembroke, &c., Lorde Chamberlaine to the King's most Excellent Majesty. And Philip Earle of Montgomery, &c., Gentleman to his Majestys Bedchamber. Both knights of the most Noble Order of the Garter and our Singular good Lords," to whom the first folio was dedicated, succeeded Sir George Buc in 1623 as Master of the Revels although he had acted as Buc's deputy some time before this date, and reigned in that office about fifty years, Shakespeare's plays being under his control all that time. Charles Knight, in his Biography, says Shakespeare's "successors in the theatrical property of the Globe and Blackfriars found it to their interest to preserve the monopoly of their performance (which they had so long enjoyed) by a handsome gratuity to the Master of the Revels." There is this entry in the office book of Sir Henry Herbert, in 1627: "Received from Mr. Heming, in their company's name, to forbid the playing of Shakespeare's plays to the Red Bull Company, five pounds." This proves Shakespeare's plays could not be performed without permission of Philip Herbert, Lord Chamberlain, or his deputy, Sir Henry Herbert, the Master of the Revels. This old actor and manager, John Heminge, died in 1630 and was one of the editors of Shakespeare's dramas in the folio of 1623. Most people are under the impression that Shakespeare was the manager of a theatre, as well as the manager of a company of players, but the fact is he was never the manager of either. My own opinion is that John Heminge was the manager of Leicester's players and continued to be a manager up to the time of his death in 1630. To date no mention of Shakespeare as having received money for plays or players has been discovered. John Heming was undoubtedly the manager and treasurer during all the time our poet was con-

Ibid., p. 446.

nected with the stage. Seven years after Shakespeare's death John Heminge was permitted by the Lord Chamberlain, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, to publish the collected manuscripts of the great dramas, and he and CondeU were allowed to dedicate them to this nobleman and his brother, Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery. In no other way could the manuscripts of these plays have been published, save by the courtesy of the Lord Chamberlain, who controlled them as well as the King's Players. A John Heminge was one of the trustees named in the deed of the Blackfriars' property, sold to Shakespeare in 1613. William Johnson was another of the trustees named in this deed. Could Henry Walker, "citizein and minstrell" of London, who sold the property to Shakespeare, have been the husband of Alice Burbage, sister of Richard, the first Hamlet? She married a Walker. See the Lord Treasurer Stanhope's "accomp^t," 1613, p. 103.¹

Thirty years ago Dr. Appleton Morgan wrote the following to refute Donnelly's "*The Great Cryptogram*."

WHY QUEEN ELIZABETH NEGLECTED BACON—THAT CAPIAS UTLEGATUM

" . . . Nor does it happen to appear that, although Bacon was badly in debt in and about the year 1598, any of his debts were allowed to outlaw. They had all been paid or compounded for in 1601. All we know of this threatened writ of *capias utlegatum* is contained in Bacon's letter to Cecil. And Bacon merely mentioned it, as appears by the context, to show his kinsman how Coke took every opportunity of insulting him. Had Bacon been amenable to a writ to issue from the attorney-general of England, the suggestion by the mouth of the attorney-general himself would not have been an

¹*Shakespeare's Century of Praise*, 2nd Edl.

insult; but a threat, a word to tremble at, or to turn to stone before. Sir Edward Coke was not a man to threaten when he could perform. He performed: nor did he send threats in advance of his performance. It was, as we have said, an insulting reference to Bacon's early poverty, in the course of a little passage at arms between two men who perfectly understood their own and each other's rights, powers, and privileges. Bacon turned it, not with an "apothegm" (as he called his own ponderously witty speeches), but with a quiet, lawyer-like, and rather contemptuous admission, coupled with an allusion to Coke's utter impotence in the matter. And that was all there was of it!

Had Bacon quitted England on account of his authorship of the Shakespeare plays, not only Elizabeth, Coke, the judges at Essex's trial who accepted Bacon's excuse for not taking a certain part in the prosecution, and the thirty or forty editors, publishers, printers, messengers, and go-betweens who printed that cipher-covering First Folio Shakespeare—not only all these, but all England—would have known, about three hundred years ago the truth.

I am strongly inclined to think, therefore, that Mr. Spedding's incidental conjecture that Coke's mention of the *capias utlegatum* in the *recontre* with Bacon, was an allusion to Bacon's early poverty—is, undoubtedly, the fact of the matter. If otherwise, it would certainly be and remain a curiosity in the record that a future Lord Chancellor of England should have been at one time, in constructive breach of ban of the realm in whose affairs he was to sit in its highest judgment seat!—*The Albany Law Journal*, Vol. 42, 1890.

Dorothy Watts *against* } } Johnson *against* 171
 Brynes of Severfam. } } Bacon.

Vpon evidence that term at Guid-hal, London, In the case of one *r. 42. Eliz*
 Dalton. Where in debt upon an Obligation, where the Statute of
 Usury was pleaded, It was said by Popph. If a man lend 100 l. for a
 year, and to have 10 l. for the use of it. If the Obligo^r pays the 10 l.
 20 days before it be due, That does not make the Obligation void, be-
 cause it was not corrupt. But if upon making the obligation, it had been *Usury.*
 agreed, that the ten pound should have been paid within the time, that *16 Jul. 17*
 should have been usury. Because he had not the 100 l. for the whole year.
 When the 10 l. was to be paid within the year. And verdict was given
 accordingly.

It was agreed, that if the Lord main his Willain, he is intrans-
 chised. -

Dorothy Watts *against* Brynes at Severfam.

Halst 43

In an appeal of the death of her Husband. The Defendant there, upon *Murder.*
 the indictment was found guilty of Man-slaughter, And the issue
 was if he kill'd the Husband or not, and the evidence was very strong a-
 gainst the Defendant. (icil.) The beginning of the quarrel was, On
 Monday there, the person that was kill'd beat the now Defendant. On
 Tuesday, Wats in the Defendants shop being a Butcher, flurled him on
 the Nose. On Wednesday, Watts, and one Bissei walking by the shop,
 made a wry mouth at the Defendant: Upon which the Defendant comes
 out of the shop, with a short sword behind the back of Watts, and gives
 him a great stroak upon the calf of the legg, whereof he died. And the
 Court directed the Jury to find it murder.

Johnson *against* Bacon.

Johnson of Grays-Inne recovered in debt against Bacon of Grays-Inne *Time to assign*
 upon a bond of 400 l. Where the condition was to save harmless, being *Errors.*
 surety for Bacon. And Bacon was outlawed after Judgement: And a
 cap. utlagat. was delivered to the Sherif in Court. And now Bacon
 brought error. And would assign errors without pfelding himself in
 Execution, quod contra legem. By the Clerks, That a man outlawed
 may not take benefit of the Law, without a submission to it.

THE ORIGIN OF THE "CAPIAS UTLEGATUM"
INSULT OFFERED TO BACON BY QUEEN
ELIZABETH'S ATTORNEY GENERAL,
SIR EDWARD COKE.

Toulmin Smith said: "*He who unfolds to his fellow-men one single truth that has heretofore laid hidden has not lived in vain.*" I may add especially if that truth is about Bacon. The fact I have discovered will at least establish what before was unknown to his biographers; and it is connected with William Johnson, the gentleman who personated the Lord Chancellor in the *Gesta Grayorum*. This William Johnson "of Staple Inn" was admitted to Grays Inn in 1578. (See Foster's *Regis. of Grays Inn*, p. 52.)

The discovered fact will also take the strongest prop from under Donnelly's cipher story in his *Great Cryptogram*. To those unfamiliar with the Attorney General Cokes insult offered to Bacon in the Exchequer in 1601, and how Bacon smarted under it, the following letter found by Murden in the Hatfield Collection, and first published by Birch will explain:

To Mr. Secretary CECIL

It may please your Honour,

Because we live in an age, where every man's imperfections is but another's fable; and that there fell out an accident in the Exchequer, which I know not how, nor how soon, may be traduced, though I dare trust rumour in it, except it be malicious, or extreme partial; I am bold now to possess your Honour, as one, that ever

I found careful of my advancement, and yet more jealous of my wrongs, with the truth of that, which passed; deferring my farther request, untill I may attend your honour: and so I continue

Your Honour's very humble
and particularly bounden,

Gray's-Inn, this 24th of April, 1601.

FR. BACON.

A true remembrance of the abuse I received of Mr. Attorney General publicly in the Exchequer the first day of term; for the truth whereof I refer myself to all that were present.

I moved to have a reseizure of the lands of Geo. Moore, a relapsed recusant, a fugitive, and a practising traytor; and shewed better matter for the Queen against the discharge by plea, which is ever with a *salvo jure*. And this I did in as gentle and reasonable terms as might be.

Mr. Attorney kindled at it, and said, "Mr. Bacon, if you have any tooth against me, pluck it out; for it will do you more hurt, than all the teeth in your head will do you good." I answered coldly in these very words: "Mr. Attorney, I respect you: I fear you not: and the less you speak of your own greatness, the more I will think of it."

He replied, "I think scorn to stand upon terms of greatness towards you, who are less than little; less than the least;" and other such strange light terms he gave me, with that insulting, which cannot be expressed. Herewith stirred, yet I said no more but this: "Mr. Attorney, do not depress me so far; for I have been your better, and may be again, when it please the Queen."

With this he spake, neither I nor himself could tell what, as if he had been born Attorney General; and

in the end bade me not meddle with the Queen's business, but with mine own; and that I was unsworn, &c. I told him, sworn or unsworn was all one to an honest man; and that I ever set my service first, and myself second; and wish'd to God, that he would do the like.

Then he said, it were good to clap a *cap. utlegatum* upon my back! To which I only said he could not; and that he was at fault; for he hunted upon an old scent.

He gave me a number of disgracefull words besides; which I answered with silence, and shewing, that I was not moved with them."

Bacon's answer to Coke: "To which I only said he could not; and that he was at fault; for he hunted upon an old scent," haunted me for years. If he had said Coke 'hunted upon a *wrong* scent' I would have dismissed it without further thought. Bacon's words, like Hamlet's, were never wasted—he weighed them before he spoke. So I took up the thread where he dropped it and began the search for the truth.

It seemed to me Coke was too good a lawyer to subject himself to a libel suit, and much as he hated Bacon he had not out of sheer malice invented the story, if there was one. Spedding thought Coke's insult referred to Bacon's arrest for debt in 1598. See his *Letters and Life of Bacon*, Vol. III, p. 3.

If the reader will turn to Spedding's *Letters and Life of Bacon*, Vol. III, p. 42, he will find there a statement drawn up by Bacon in 1601 which relates to his indebtedness to Nicholas Trott, who was made a barrister of Grays Inn July, 1584—the same Trott who in 1588 assisted Bacon in the *Misfortunes of Arthur*, which they played before the Queen at her palace of Greenwich.

In the above statement of Bacon's are these items:

"He [Trott] received about two years since of Mr.

Johnson of Grays Inn, being my surety for 200l. principal. . . .

He hath now secured unto him by mortgage of

Twicknam Park1259l. 12s.

Upon my Cousin Cook's band..... 210l.

Upon Mr. Ed. Jones' band..... 208l.

Upon my own band..... 202l.

In the *Gesta Grayorum* this Mr. Ed. Jones was Secretary of State. He was "a great translator of books" also. We see Bacon, like Shakespeare, uses the word *band* for *bond*. See *The Comedy of Errors*, IV., 2.

Adr. *Tell me was he arrested on a band?*

Dro. S. *Not on a band, but on a stronger thing.*

"Revealing day through every cranny peeps."

And through the above cranny I hoped William Johnson of Grays Inn might lead me to something in connection with Bacon's debts and his arrest in 1598. The reader may smile when I say it took me twenty years to trace the mystery of the *Capias Utlegatum*. I examined hundreds of musty old books and manuscripts in connection with my other researches, and in 1896 I found my "atom," which I hope the reader will not think I am making into a mountain. Mr. Gosse finely expresses it when he says: "All critical work nowadays must be done on the principle of the coral insects. No one can hope to do more than to place his atom on the mass that those who preceded him have constructed."

But to return to William Johnson who played the Lord Chancellor in the *Gesta Grayorum*. The following extracts relating to him have been taken from *The Pension Book of Grays Inn*:

1591 PENSION 16th June, 33 Eliz.: Present:—
ANGER, WHISKINS, DANYELL, SPURLING,
POLEY, FULLER, BACON, PELHAM, LAN-
CASTER, SENTLEGER, BETTENHAM and
LANY.

Cotton, G., Mingay, Johnson, W., and Dolman,
called to the Bar by Mr. Jermy Bettenham in
August last past, are allowed and confirmed utter
barristers. p. 93.

In May 35 Eliza., 1593, he was “chosen of the graunde
company.” *Ibid*, p. 100.

1595 PENSION 11th Feb: 37 Eliz: Present:—BRO-
GRAVE, ANGER, POOLEY, FULLER, LAN-
CASTER, PELHAM, NIGHTINGALE.

“It ys orderyd that Mr. William Mills shalbe
intreatyd to delyver unto Mr. Willm Johnson and
Mr. Edward Morrys the some of one hundryd
marks to be payd out & bestowyd upon the gentle-
men for their sports & shewes this Shrovetide at
the court before the Queens Majestie 1 & the same
hundryd marks to be payd agayne to the said Mr.
Mills hys exec: or assigns before thend of the next
term.” *Ibid*, p. 107.

The able editor of *The Pension Book* of Grays Inn has
this foot note relating to the *Gesta Grayorum*:

Note 1.—There has been a notable keeping of Christ-
mas in 1594. On December 12th a Prince of Purpoole
was elected, and an ambassador from the Inner Temple
invited to his Court. On December 20th, the Prince
(one Mr. Helmes) was duly enthroned, his champion
riding into the hall and proclaiming his titles as Prince
of Purpoole, Archduke of Stapulia and Bernardia, Duke

of the High and Nether Holborn, Marquis of St. Giles' and Tottenham, Count Palatine of Bloomsbury and Clerkenwell, Great Lord of the Cantons of Islington, etc. On Holy Innocents' Day the ambassador of Templaria presented his credentials. But "then arose such a disordered tumult and crowd upon the stage that there was no opportunity to effect what was intended: there came so great a number of worshipful personages upon the stage that might not be displaced," that the performance was abandoned and the Temple ambassador retired in a huff. "In regard whereof . . . it was thought good not to offer anything of account, saving dancing and revelling with gentlewomen; and after such sports a Comedy of Errors (like to *Plautus* his *Menechmus*) was played by the players. So that night was begun and continued to the end in nothing but confusion and errors." On January 3rd the ambassador was again present, a Council was held, for which Spedding thinks Bacon wrote the speeches, and peace concluded with Templaria. But the crowning event in the reign of the Prince of Purpoole was the masque which he and his followers performed, by permission, before the Queen. 'Twas a poor thing, but their own, and "Her Majesty graced every one; particularly she thanked His Highness for the good performance of all that was done; and wished that their sports had continued longer, for the pleasure she took therein; which may appear by her answer to the Courtiers that danced a measure immediately after the Masque was ended; saying, 'What! shall we have bread and cheese after a banquet?' " The masquers kissed hands, and Her Majesty said she was much beholden to Gray's Inn "for that it did always study for some sports to present unto her." So says the *Gesta Grayorum*; and, though it was not printed till 1688, one

takes it for a genuine work of one of the masquers, not forgetting to appreciate the naïve expression of a low esteem for the "Comedy of Errors" and its author. *Ibid*, pp. 107-108.

1595 PENSION 8th May, 37 Eliz: Present:—BRO-GRAVE, ANGER, POOLEY, FULLER, BACON, PELHAM, LANY, NIGHTINGALE and BARKER.

"At this pencion it is ordred that every Reader of this house towards the charges of the shewes & desports before her Majestie at shrovetide last past shall pay tenne shillings & evrye Auncient vis viiid & evrye utterbarester vs, evrye other gentleman of this societe iiiis before thend of this term whether they be in comons or lying in the house or about the same house & this collection to contynew tyll thend of the next terme & the house towards the aforesaid charges is to allowe out of the publique stock of the said house the some xxxli."¹

1595 "It is further ordered at this pencion that vili claymed by one Mr. Segar the Quens servant¹ for nyne sheilds' their emprisses be discharged in part of payment whereof iili xvis viiid received for Mr. Terninghams fyne admitted this pencion was delyvered over to Mr. Johnson for that use."

Note 1.—This would be William Segar, who was during this reign successively Somerset herald and Norroy King-at-arms. Early in the reign he became Garter King-at-arms, and in 1616 was knighted. In the following year he was admitted a member of the Inn. *Ibid*, p. 111.

1597 "It is ordered that Mr. Laney shall pay unto Mr. Johnson out of the admittance money the sum of iiili viiis & xd in full discharge of all the charges remanent for the Christmas sports Ano 34 Eliz: Reg:" *Ibid*, p. 129.

We have now traced William Johnson of Grays Inn from May, 1591, to the 10th of November, 1597, and find him always connected with sports, masques and plays and the admittance money for same. Therefore I do not think it too much of a conjecture to say I believe the money he lent Bacon was largely spent on these masques and revels at Grays Inn, of which Bacon was in his youth so fond. Laney, above mentioned, was the *Pursuevant of Arms* in the *Gesta Grayorium*.

In Spedding's *Letters and Life of Bacon*, Vol. V., p. 86, Bacon recommends a Mr. Noy as a law reporter, and refers to him as "learned and diligent, and conversant in Reports and Records." This gentleman, afterwards Sir William Noy, became Attorney General to Charles I. And it was in his "Reports and Cases taken in the *Time of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles, Collected and Reported by that learned Lawyer*," etc. 1656, that I found the source or origin of the *Capias Utlagatum* Coke would have clapped upon Bacon's back, and how William Johnson of Grays Inn was connected with it. Although I have had the title-page and the passage relating to "Johnson against Bacon" reproduced by photography (p. 36) I will quote it here: "Johnson of Grays Inn recovered in debt against Bacon of Grays Inn upon a bond of 400l. Where the condition was to save harmlesse, being surety for Bacon. And Bacon was outlawed after Judgment: and a *cap. utlegat.* was delivered to the Sheriff in Court. And now Bacon

brought error. And would assign errors without yielding himself in Execution, *quod contra legem*. By the Clerks, that a man outlawed may not take benefit of the Law, without a submission to it." The question arises How did Bacon get out of this scrape? I have made the following note: "A barrister of Grays Inn was privileged from arrest," and signed it Kempe 1602, p. 424, but do not recollect where I found it; but I have extracted the following from Mr. Fletcher's able Introduction to *The Pension Book of Grays Inn*, upon which I have so largely drawn for this work.

P XLI The Benchers administrated their own local government.

P XLI The Pension was also the police authority for the Inn. No Dogberry entered there. It was by the private servants of the Society that the courts were patrolled and the gates guarded. The Inns of Court were fully recognized as "privileged and exempted places," and the Benchers as having within their precincts a special jurisdiction."

And at a Pension 23 Jan., 1588:

"It is also ordered that Mr. Dryver shall pay to Mr. Thurbaine for that he arrested Mr. Thurbaine upon an action of the case for slander without the consent of the Reders that he satisfie Mr. Thurbaine all charges recompenced him by order of the court where the suit was had." *Ibid.*, p. 78.

Showing Mr. Dryver had no right to arrest a member of Grays Inn without the "Reders'" consent. We now come to Bacon's letter complaining of his arrest in 1598

which was found in the Hatfield Collection by Murden, and printed first by Birch (1763).

To Sir THOMAS EGERTON, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal

It may please your Lordship,

I am to make humble complaint to your Lordship of some hard dealing offered me by one Sympson, a goldsmith, a man noted much, as I have heard, for extremities and stoutness upon his purse: but yet I could scarcely have imagined, he would have dealt either so dishonestly towards myself, or so contemptuously towards her Majesty's service. For this Lombard (pardon me, I most humbly pray your Lordship, if being admonished by the street he dwells in, I give him that name) having me in bond for 300 l. principal, and I having the last term confessed the action, and by his full and direct consent, respited the satisfaction till the beginning of this term to come, without ever giving me warning, either by letter or message, served an execution upon me, having trained me at such time, as I came from the Tower, where, Mr. Waad can witness, we attended a service of no mean importance. Neither would he so much as vouchsafe to come and speak with me to take any order in it, thought I sent for him divers times, and his house was just by; handling it as upon a despite, being a man I never provoked with a cross word, no nor with many delays. He would have urged it to have had me in prison; which he had done, had not Sheriff More, to whom I sent, gently recommended me to an handsome house in Coleman-street, where I am. Now because he will not treat with me, I am inforced humbly to desire your Lordship to send for him, according to your place,

to bring him to some reason; and this forthwith, because I continue here to my farther discredit and inconvenience, and the trouble of the gentleman, with whom I am. I have an hundred pounds lying by me, which he may have, and the rest upon some reasonable time and security; or, if need be, the whole; but with my more trouble. As for the contempt he hath offered, in regard her Majesty's service, to my understanding, carrieth a privilege *eundo et redeundo* in meaner causes, much more in matters of this nature, especially in persons known to be qualified with that place and employment, which though unworthy, I am vouchsafed, I inforce nothing, thinking I have done my part, when I have made it known; and so leave it to your Lordship's honourable consideration. And so with signification of my humble duty, &c.

His next letter (also found in the Hatfield Collection) is to his first cousin, Sir Robert Cecil, son of his Aunt Mildred Cooke, who was Lord Burghley's second wife. Sir Robert Cecil was Queen Elizabeth's Secretary from 1596 to the end of her reign, 1603, and was reappointed by James I.

To Sir ROBERT CECIL, Secretary of State.

It may please your Honour,

I humbly pray you to understand how badly I have been used by the inclosed, being a copy of a letter of complaint thereof, which I have written to the Lord Keeper. How sensitive you are of wrongs offered to your blood in my particular, I have had not long since experience. But herein I think your Honour will be doubly sensitive, in tenderness also of the indignity to her Majesty's service. For as for me, Mr. Sympson might have had me every day in London; and therefore

to belay me, while he knew I came from the Tower about her Majesty's special service, was to my understanding very bold. And two days before he brags he forbore me, because I dined with Sheriff More. So as with Mr. Sympson, examinations at the Tower are not so great a privilege, *eundo et redeundo*, as Sheriff More's dinner. But this complaint I make in duty; and to that end have also informed my Lord of Essex thereof; for otherwise his punishment will do me no good.

So with signification of my humble duty, I commend your Honour to the divine preservation.

From Coleman-street, this 24th of September [1598.]

At your honourable command particularly,

FR. BACON.

I am inclined to think the following letter to Bacon's cousin, Cecil, although dated July, 1603, relates to the above arrest. It may please your good Lordship,

In answer to your last letter, your money shall be ready before your day, principal, interest, and costs of suit. So the sheriff promised, when I released errors; and a Jew takes no more. The rest cannot be forgotten; for I cannot forget your Lordship's *dum memor ipse mei*: and if there have been *aliquid nimis*, it shall be amended. And, to be plain with your Lordship, that will quicken me now, which slackened me before. Then I thought you might have had more use of me, than now, I suppose, you are like to have. Not but I think the impediment will be rather in my mind, than in the matter or times. But to do you service, I will come out of my religion at any time.

For my knighthood, I wish the manner might be such, as might grace me, since the matter will not: I mean, that I might not be merely gregarious in a troop.

The coronation is at hand. It may please your Lordship to let me hear from you speedily. So I continue

Your Lordship's ever much bounden,

FR. BACON.

From Gorhambury, this 16th of July, 1603.

FRANCIS BACON'S CONNECTION WITH WARWICKSHIRE AND THE FOREST OF ARDEN

None of Bacon's biographers have connected him with Warwickshire or the Forest of Arden, where Shakespeare found:

*"Tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones and good in everything."*

Yet here in the midst of this Forest, his maternal grandfather, Sir Anthony Cooke, the learned tutor to King Edward VI., owned one of the most ancient estates in all Warwickshire. It was near enough to Kenilworth Castle, given by Elizabeth to her favorite Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, for Sir Anthony Cooke and his family to attend without fatigue, the entertainment given to the Queen in the summer of 1575. I have no doubt young Francis Bacon was there with his father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Elizabeth's Lord, keeper of the Great Seal, his mother Lady Anne, and his aunts Lady Cecil, Lord Burleigh's wife, and Lady Russell, wife to Sir John Russell, as they were attached to the Court. Sir John Russell's sister married Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who was the Earl of Leicester's brother. There are passages in the plays of Shakespeare which have led many to think that he was present at these grand sports and shewes, although only in his eleventh year. But a genius like Shakespeare would be wonderfully impressed and acute even at this age. There was a rustic wedding performed before the Queen at this time, which may have sown the seed in the poet's mind for the love scenes in *As You Like It* between Touchstone and Audrey.

As for Francis Bacon he went abroad the very next

year with Elizabeth's Embassadore, Sir Amias Poulet, to be bred a statesman, according to the wishes of his father, whose favorite son he was. Born in 1560-1, he was now in his sixteenth year, and was accompanied abroad by a companion, a Mr. Duncombe. Young Francis Bacon was "not bound to any vacations" either at Cambridge or Grays Inn, on account of his health, which, like his brother Anthony's, had always been delicate. This is another reason for thinking he was at Kenilworth in the summer of 1575, for I find he was out of Cambridge when the entertainment to the Queen took place. Elizabeth, who had known him from birth, would sometimes call him her "young Lord-keeper," and be delighted to confer with him often alone. Like *Mamillius*, he could tell marvelous stories, I imagine, and I venture to say no princely child could be more courteous and polished in all her court than this son of Lady Anne Bacon's, who had been governess to King Edward VI. up to his seventh year. Under his mother's tuition he was able to enter Cambridge in April, 1573, at the age of twelve years and three months old. In June, 1575, he and his brother Anthony were admitted *ancients* to Grays Inn. Spedding says this was "a privilege to which they were entitled as the sons of a Judge." The following from the *Pension Book of Grays Inn*, 1576, is interesting:

1576 PENSION 21st Nov: 15 Eliz. Present:—GER-RARD, BARTON, KYTCHIN, CHISNOLD, COLBYE, SHUTE, ANGER, WHISKINS, YELVERTON, SNAGG, CARDINALL and BRO-GRAVE.

“It is ordered that Mr. Edward Bacon shalbe admitted in my Lorde Keepers chamber in the

absence of Mr. Nicholas Bacon his sonne & that Mr. Anthony shalbe admitted in the same chamber in the absence of Mr. Nathaniell Bacon."

"It is forther ordered that all his sonnes now admitted of the housse viz:—Nicholas, Nathaniell, Edward, Anthonye, & Francis shalbe of the graund company and not to be bound to any vacations." p. 27.

Bacon, who only "lived to study," was by his father's sudden death called back to England in March, 1578-9. As he had been left with little means, he took up his lodgings in Grays Inn and began the study of law as he himself tells us—to "study to live."

The Pension Book of Grays Inn proves his health was still delicate in 1580:

1580 "Mr. Francis Bacon in respect to his healthe is allowed to have the benefitt of a special admittance with all benefitts and p'rivileges to a speciall admittance belongeng for the fyne of xl'." p. 43.

Let us now return to Bacon's connection with and his kinsmen in Warwickshire, where Shakespeare "warbled his wood-notes wild." I found the following interesting items relating to Bacon, in 1589, in Benjamin Bartlett's *Manduessedum Romanorum*, p. 105:

31 Elizabeth, Indenture between Sir Henry Goodere,
1589, Feb. 20 Knt., of Polesworth, and Frances, his daughter, on one part, and William Cook, of St. Martin's, Esq. Francis Bacon, of Gray's Inn, Esq., and Weston Shaw, servant to William Cook, on the other. In consideration of 300l. Sir Henry Goodere and Frances, his daughter, convey to said Francis Bacon and Weston Shaw all the tythes of corn, &c.,

in Hartshill, with all such right as they the said Sir Henry and his daughter have by virtue of an indenture dated July 6, 29 Elizabeth, between William Parker, of Hartshill, and Katharine, his wife, and Sir Henry Goodere and Frances, his daughter.

31 Elizabeth, Indenture of fine between Sir Henry
Hilary Term. Goodere and Frances, his daughter,
petitioners, Robert Parker and Katharine, his wife, deforcients, of all the tythes in Hartshill.

31 Elizabeth, Assignment from Francis Bacon and
June 13. Weston Shaw to Mr. Cook of the tythes
in Hartshill.

To the student of Baconian lore, these Indentures are crammed full of the names of interesting people. Sir Henry Goodere, knt. of Polesworth, being no other than Drayton's "mild tutor" in poetry, whose daughter, Anne Goodere, Drayton "deified" in his heart, under his "*Idea*" sonnets. Drayton was born in Hartshill in that fair Arden immortalized by Shakespeare in *As You Like It*, close to the castelated mansion of the Cookes. A Henry Goodere, Alderman of London, had a son William, who married Anne Cooke of London. Our Sir Henry Goodere of Polesworth married Frances, da. of Hugh Lowther, and they had two daughters—Anne, who was Drayton's "*Idea*" and became the wife of Sir Henry Rainsford of Stratford-on-Avon, and Frances Goodere, who married her first cousin, Sir Henry Goodere, and is the Frances mentioned in the Indentures to Bacon. A branch of the Goodere family lived in St. Albans, and a Sir Francis Goodier married *Ursula*, sister and heir of Sir Ralph Rowlett, Knight. Bacon's youngest aunt,

Margaret Cooke, became the wife of a Sir Ralph Rowlett of St. Albans. She died in 1588. See *Machin's Diary*, and Harl. MSS., 1167. Thus it will be seen the Gooderes were related to Bacon and the Cooke family. No line has come down from Bacon's pen to even hint he was acquainted with Michael Dayton, the poet, who was born at Hartshill and brought up by the gentle Goodere family. This, I think, ought to strengthen my conjecture that Bacon knew Shakespeare, although no record has been discovered to tell us so.

It was in June, 1589, Francis Bacon assigned the tythes of Hartshill to Sir William Cooke, his cousin, and we are told Shakespeare fled to London in 1587. This Sir William Cooke married Joyce Lucy, the daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Lucy, who was the son and heir of Shakespeare's Justice Shallow in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Halliwell Phillips, in his *Shakespeare's Tours*, 1887, p. 6, has this about Shakespeare's Sir Thomas Lucy:

"Sir Thomas Lucy, the avenger of the Charlecote escape, was the patron of a body of itinerant actors," then quotes from the Chamberlain's accounts at Coventry, 1584: "To Sir Thomas Lucy's players X. S." If Sir Thomas had taken Shakespeare into his home like Sir Henry Goodere had taken Drayton, what a difference it would have made in our poet's life!

To Benjamin Bartlett's *Manduessedum Romanorum: being the History of the Parish of Manceter, in the county of Warwick*, 1791, I am indebted for the following extracts relating to Bacon's maternal kinsmen, the Cookes of Hartshill, Warwickshire:

Referring to *Manceter* he says:

"It is situate in the hundred of Hemlingford, in the North part of the county of Warwick, a part of the an-

cient and extensive forest of Arden, of which her native poet and industrious Antiquary sings,

“Muse, first of Arden tell, whose footsteps yet are
found

“In her rough woodlands more than any other ground

“That mighty Arden held even in her height of pride;

The Arden here celebrated by our poet was, as he says, the largest of all the forest in Britain, extending from the banks of the Avon, which washes the whole South side of this huge wild, to the Trent on the North, to the Severn on the West, and East to an imaginary line drawn from High Cross to Burton.

HARTSHILL.

HARTSHILL, the third village in the parish, the *Campus Martius* of the Romans, and by them included in the general name of *Manduessedum*, was first settled and inhabited by the Saxons, who called it *Ardenshill*. By the Conqueror it was let to farm Ansley to Nicholas, a man of note in those days, at 100 shillings, as in Domesday, where it is called *Ardreshill*, and with Ansley contained two hides and several caracutes. There were thirteen villans with five caracutes more, also six acres of meadow; all which had been valued at four pounds, but now at 100 shillings. Not long after the census was finished, the Conqueror gave this lordship with the rest of the parish, and the adjoining one of Ansley, to *Hugh Lupus* earl of Chester, whose nephew and heir *Ranulph de Meschines* gave Hartshill and Ansley to his kinsman *Hugh*. By him and his descendants it was called *Aldre-dushull*, *Hardreshull*, *Harderhull*, *Hardeshull*, *Harteshull*, and in later days *Hareshull* and *Hartshill*.

The village is built on the North end of the hilly plain,

forming a rustic square, near the centre of which stands an old building (now a cottage) called the chapel, which name I find it bore in the reign of James I.,** but when it was used for any religious purpose does not appear.

On the West side of the village is a large wood stretching up near the camp at Oldbury, the remains of the woods of the Arden, in antient days called from its possessors *Sylva Hugonis*, *Sylva Williemi*, and now *The Hays*, in the side of which, adjoining the castle, is a large tumulus. From the village the grounds fall gently to the river, Ankor, which runs pleasantly through this manor, directing its course from South East to North West.

Drayton, in complaisance to the place of his nativity, with poetic exaggeration sings,

“Our floods, queen Thames for ships and swans renown’d,

“And stately Severn for her shores is praised,

“The chrystal Trent for fords and fish renown’d,

“And Avon’s fame to Albion’s cliffs is raised, . . .

“Arden’s sweet Ankor, let thy glory be,

“That fair idea onely lives by thee.”

Bartlett has the following *note* on William de Har-dreskull, and to the Abbot Bacoun:

This William, during the life-time of his father, was a subscribing witness to a charter of Ranulf de Gernonis, done at Nottingham, confirming his nephew Bacoun’s foundation charter of the abbey of Roucester in Staffordshire. Monast. II. p. 268.

William died 46 Henry III. 1264, leaving his wife*

**Note—In 1608, in Cook’s deed of sale it is termed a cottage, called the chapel. May 6, 1621, Jane Wright, widow of Christopher Wright, of Happersford, and daughter of Francis Purefoy, of Caldecot, leases to Ralph Parker for eight years, the house called the chapel, standing in the middle of the village.

*NOTE.—Rot. Pat. 46 Hen. III.

Matilda, afterwards married to William de Ardern, two sons, who afterwards by turns enjoyed the estate. About this time he had granted certain lands in Anesley to William de Bret, who built himself a mansion-house, which afterwards obtained the name of Bret's hall, as the land that of a manor. A succeeding William obtained 34 Edward III. the bishop's license to have divine service celebrated in his private oratory for the space of two years.

Thomas Colepeper, who married Elizabeth, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir William Haut of Hautsborn. He was the last of that family that had anything to do at Hartshill, for in the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. he sold that manor and estate, after it had been in one family, male and female included, four hundred and fifty years, to Sir *Anthony Cook*.

Sir Anthony Cook, of Giddyhall in Essex, was the son of Sir John Philip Cook, by Elizabeth, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir Henry Belknap of Ridlingswold in Kent,* and the great grand-son of Sir Thomas Cook, the founder and builder of Giddyhall, who in April 15, 1465, 4 Edward IV. being then lord mayor of London, was with several others created a knight of the Bath, the better to grace the coronation of the queen, late the lady Elizabeth Grey, which was celebrated the next day. In the succeeding year he was charged with high treason, but admitted to bail. But after the marriage of Margaret, the king's sister (his great friend), to Charles, duke of Burgundy, in 1468 he was arrested and committed to the Tower, his goods seized, and his estates sequestered; and though acquitted of the charge, he could not obtain his liberty without paying the exorbi-

*NOTE.—And in her right possessed of lands in Wapenbury and Derset, and by purchase in Stockinford, all in the county of Warwick.

tant fine of eight thousands pounds to the king, and eight hundred marks to the queen; besides this, he suffered great losses from his enemy's servants, who had the keeping of his estates, which were not restored to him until Henry VI. resumed the throne 1470, when he was appointed keeper of the queen's wardrobe, and customer of the port of Southampton; and in this year he again served the office of mayor, as *locum tenens* for John Skelton, a partizan of the house of York, who, to avoid danger, feigned himself sick. Sir Thomas died 18 Edward IV. 1478.

Sir Anthony was born in 1500, and in 1544 appointed one of the tutors to Edward VI. In Mary's days he was an exile. In the succeeding reign of Elizabeth he repaired and finished Giddyhall, which the losses his great grandfather had suffered had prevented him from doing; and in it he had the honor of entertaining Elizabeth in her progress into Kent in 1568.* On the front he placed the following lines:

“Ædibus his frontem proavus Thomas dedit olim;
 “Addidit Antoni cætera sera manus.”

8 Elizabeth he leased to Michael and Edmond Parker the castellated manor-house at Hartshill, with the park and other lands, amounting to three hundred acres at forty pounds per annum. He married Anne the daughter of Sir William Fitz William of Gain's park, Essex, and of Milton in Northamptonshire; and died at Giddy hall, 18 Elizabeth, 1576, aged 76. He was buried in Rumford chapel, where a stately monument was erected for him, with this inscription:

“Dominus Antonius Cocus, ordinis equestris miles, ob singularem doctrinam, prudentiam, et pietatem Edovardi institutor constitutus.

*NOTE.—See “Queen Elizabeth's Progresses” under that year.

“Uxorem habuit filiam Gulielmi Fitz Williams de Milton militis, vere piam et generosam, cum qua diu feliciter &c.”

He left issue a son Richard, who succeeded him in his estates, and four daughters:

Mildred, married to William Cecill Lord Burleigh;

Anne, to Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal;

Elizabeth, to Sir John Russel, son and heir of Francis earl of Bedford;

And Katharine, to Sir Henry Killigrew.

Of these ladies it is said, that they were learned above their sex in Greek and Latin, and equally distinguished by their virtue, piety, and good fortune.

Richard, his son who succeeded to the estate, married Anne, daughter of John Caulton, Esq., by whom he had a son, *Anthony*, born in 1550, who afterwards enjoyed the estate. He married Avise, the daughter of Sir William Waldgrave, and was succeeded by his son Sir *William*, who married Joyce, the daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Lucy of Highnam, in Gloucestershire, where he and his posterity afterwards resided. Sir William Cook died 1618, and was succeeded by his son Sir Robert.

Whilst Sir Anthony Cook possessed this estate, Harts-hill gave birth to her celebrated poet and industrious antiquary, MICHAEL DRAYTON, descended from the ancient family of the Draytons of Drayton in Leicestershire.

He was born 15 Elizabeth, 1563, in this village, and not at Atherston, as Sir William Dugdale says, perhaps led thereto from many of his relations living there at that time, and now not all extinct. But the hamlet of Hartshill derives celebrity from a just claim to his birth, as appears indisputably true from the Latin lines under his portrait,

æt. 50, by W. Hole, prefixed to the edition of his works published in his lifetime, and under his own inspection, 1627, which could not have escaped his correction had it been erroneous:

“Lux Hareshula tibi Warwici villa (tenebris

“Ante tuas cunas obsita) prima fuit.

“Arma, viros, veneres, patriam, modulamine dixti;

“Te patriæ resonant, arma, viri, veneres.”

Had Sir William paid a proper attention to these lines, he would not have made that mistake, which from his great character succeeding writers have adopted. . . .

. . . . In 1573, being but ten years old, he appears by his own words to have been page to some person of honour, able to construe his *Cato* and other sentences, and solicitous with his tutor to *make him a poet*.

. . . . He spent many of his younger years at Polesworth in the family of Sir Henry Goodyere, to whom he addresses his odes:

“These Lyric pieces short and few,

“Most worthy Sir, I send to you,

“To read them be not weary,

“They may become John Hews his lyre,

“Which oft at Powlsworth by the fire

“Has made us gravely merry.”

Bacon's Chaplain, Rawley, in 1657, printed the following letter in the *Resuscitatio*, p. 92, which Bacon had written about 1594 to Sir Thomas Lucy, the son of Shakespeare's Justice Shallow:

To Sir Thomas Lucy.

Sir, There was no Newes, better welcom to me, this long time, than that, of the good Success, of my Kinsman; wherein, if he be happy, he cannot be happy alone,

it consisting of two parts. And I render you, no less kinde Thanks, for your aid, and Favour, towards him, than if it had been for my Self; Assuring you, that this Bond of Alliance, shall, on my part, tye me, to give all the Tribute, to your good Fortune, upon all occasions, that my poor Strength can yield. I send you, so required, an *Abstract*, of the *Lands of Inheritance*; And one *Lease* of great value, which my *Kinsman bringeth*; with a Note, of the *Tenures, Values, Contents, and State*, truly, and perfectly, drawn; whereby you may perceive, the *Land* is good *Land*, and well countenanced, by scope of *Acres, Woods, and Royalties*; Though the *Total* of the *Rents*, be set down, as it now goeth, without Improvement: In which respect, it may somewhat differ, from your first Note. Out of this, what he will assure in *Joincture*, I leave it, to his own kindness; For I love not to measure Affection. To conclude, I doubt not, your *Daughter*, mought have married, to a better *Living*, but never to a better *Life*; Having chosen a *Gentleman*, bred to all Honesty, Vertue, and Worth, with an Estate convenient. And if my Brother, or my Self, were either Thrivers, or Fortunate, in the *Queens Service*, I would hope, there should be left, as great an House, of the *Cookes*, in this Gentleman, as in your good Friend, Mr. *Attorney General*. But sure I am, if *Scriptures* fail not, it will have as much of Gods Blessing; and Sufficiency, is ever the best Feast, &c.

Spedding in *Letters and Life of Bacon*, Vol. II, p. 369, refers to this letter as follows: "The next is addressed to Sir Thomas Lucy—eldest son, I suppose, of Justice Shallow. For I find in Burke's 'Commoners of Great Britain' that Sir Thomas Lucy, knight, of Charl-cote, who succeeded his father in 1600, had by his first wife a daughter (Joyce), who married Sir William

Cook, knight, of Highnam. Sir William Cook may have been one of Bacon's kinsmen by the mother's side, and his approaching marriage with Joyce Lucy may have been the occasion of this letter: which comes from the supplementary collection in the 'Resuscitatio.' It is sufficiently intelligible as it stands; nor have I any reason to suppose that a more complete account of the relations between the parties, of their previous history and subsequent journey through this transitory life, would add anything material to the little interest which it still retains for us, as an agreeable and very characteristic letter."

I esteem Spedding's opinion highly, but I cannot agree with him that this letter retains but little interest for us. To students of Elizabethan literature it conjures up men as familiar as household words. Francis Bacon, whose name we revere; Sir Edward Coke, Elizabeth's Attorney General; the scholarly Anthony Bacon, whose work was never appreciated by the Queen or his kinsmen, the Cecils; Sir William Cooke, Bacon's cousin, and a descendant of that Sir Thomas Cooke who lost his estates and almost his head for his loyalty to Henry VI.; and last but not least, Sir Thomas Lucy, the son and heir of that famous Sir Thomas Lucy, whom critics call "Shakespeare's Justice Shallow," for it was he who drove the poet from Stratford for breaking into his park and stealing his deer; or, as our authority, Nicholas Rowe, Shakespeare's first biographer, puts it: "He had, by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company, and amongst them some that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing, engaged him more than once in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, near Stratford. For this he was prosecuted by that gentleman, as he thought,

somewhat too severely; and, in order to revenge that ill usage, he made a ballad upon him. This, probably the first essay of his poetry, is said to have been so very bitter that it redoubled the prosecution against him to that degree that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warwickshire for some time and shelter himself in London."

Justice Shallow was alive when the letter was written in 1594. I judge it was written in that year because Coke was made Attorney General in April, 1594, and Anthony Bacon died in 1601, broken in heart and in health for his friend, the Earl of Essex.

Sir Thomas Lucy, to whom Bacon writes, was about thirty-five or thirty-six years old when Shakespeare fled to London. Sir William Cooke lived on a neighboring estate and married his daughter, Joyce Lucy. Sir Fulke Greville, the poet, another of Bacon's warm friends, lived near them; and I am convinced all these gentlemen knew of Shakespeare's plight and that through their correspondence it reached Bacon. In those days private letters were filled with all the gossip of the town and country. Now we know Francis Bacon ever had

"A tear for pity and a hand open as day for melting charity."

Would it be too wild a conjecture to say I believe Shakespeare had met Bacon in Warwickshire and that on his arrival in London he sought him out at his lodgings in Grays Inn, and through Bacon's influence he was placed where he became a servant to the Lord Chamberlain, Henry Carey, first Lord Hundson, and Queen Elizabeth's cousin. In no other way, it seems to me, could Shakespeare have attained the phenomenal progress he is said to have made in five or six years after his arrival

in London. Some of his biographers say he reached the metropolis in 1585; others make it as late as 1587. Yet Robert Greene, one of the choicest poets of that time and a thorough scholar, grew so envious of our poet's plays before 1592 that he called him "an upstart Crow." Some critics conjecture that Shakespeare applied to James Burbage, or to Richard Field, the printer, because they also claim these two were from his native Stratford. But James Burbage was from Hertsfordshire, not Warwickshire, and as for Richard Field, the printer of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, until I have some better authority than John Payne Collier, who was the first to bring out this "fact" in 1849, I cannot accept it.

But let us return to Rowe. "It is at this time, and upon this accident, that he is said to have made his first acquaintance in the playhouse. He was received into the company then in being, at first in a very mean rank, but his admirable wit, and the natural turn of it to the stage, soon distinguished him, if not as an extraordinary actor, yet as an excellent writer. His name is printed, as the custom was in those times, amongst those of the other players, before some old plays, but without any particular account of what sort of parts he used to play; and though I have enquired, I could never meet with any further account of him this way, than that the top of his performance was the Ghost in his own *Hamlet*. I should have been much more pleased to have learned, from certain authority, which was the first play he wrote; it would be without doubt a pleasure to any man, curious in things of this kind, to see and know what was the first essay of a fancy like Shakespeare's."

Alas, poor Ghost! Alas, too, that no "certain authority" could tell Rowe what the "first essay" of Shakespeare's "fancy" was. Like our critics of the present

horrible war, he lived too near the time to hear or learn all the truth. It would seem that our poet did not care to recognize any of the dramas that so magically dropped from his pen, for in 1593 he calls *Venus and Adonis* "the first heir of his invention," and in the following year, 1594, he gave the world his *Lucrece*. This year (1594) was a most momentous one in the lives of Shakespeare and Bacon, for at Christmas time the *Comedy of Errors* was performed at Grays Inn. Thus distinguishing Shakespeare above all the dramatists of his day, because to have a play staged in the fine Hall of Grays Inn was as great an honor as to be presented at court. Here the immortal Bacon reigned supreme over the masques, sports and revels, and might be called the Lord Chamberlain of Grays Inn for licensing dramatic performances; for that was one of the duties of the Lord Chamberlain at court, for whose company all of Shakespeare's plays were written, and they continued under the control of that officer down to the Chamberlain of Charles I., who was Philip Earl of Pembroke, one of the "Incomparable brothers" to whom the first folio was dedicated in 1623. Shakespeare's *name* is not mentioned in the *Gesta Grayorum*, neither is Bacon's, yet the best critics agree, from Malone's time down, that the *Comedy of Errors*, performed at Grays Inn on December 28, 1594, was Shakespeare's. The poet's name first appeared on his *Love's Labours Lost* in 1598, showing he was indifferent to his plays or that the Lord Chamberlain's company controlled them entirely after they left his hands. His poems were more precious to him, as we see from the Dedications. It has been also proven on the highest authority that Bacon largely composed the contents of the *Gesta Grayorum*. The 28th of December, 1594, must have been one of the brightest days in our poet's life, for

on that day his name first appears with that of Richard Burbage and William Kempe's in "two several Comedies or interludes" at Greenwich Palace before the Queen. (See Halliwell Phillips.) This was upon St. Innocent's Day, and when he left the stately and sumptuous palace of Elizabeth he had to make ready for the performance of his farce at Grays Inn that very night, and it was the second grand night of the Christmas sports and revels, as the *Gesta Grayorum* relates:

"The next grand night was intended to be upon Innocent's-day at night; at which time there was a great presence of lords, ladies, and worshipful personages, that did expect some notable performance at that time; which, indeed, had been effected, if the multitude of beholders had not been so exceeding, no convenient room for those that were actors; by reason whereof, very good inventions and conceits could not have opportunity to be applauded, which otherwise would have been great contentations to the beholders. Against which time, our friend, the *Inner Temple*, determined to send their Ambassador to our Prince of State, as sent from *Frederick Templarius*, their Emperor, who was then busied in his wars against the Turk. The Ambassador came very gallantly appointed, and attended by a great number of brave gentlemen, which arrived at our Court about nine of the clock at night. Upon their coming thither, the King at Arms gave notice to the Prince, then sitting in his chair of state in the hall, that there was to come to his Court an Ambassador from his ancient friend the *State of Templaria*, which desired to have present access unto his Highness; and shewed his Honour further, that he seemed to be of very good sort, because he was so well attended; and therefore desired, that it would please his Honour that some of his Nobles and Lords might conduct him to his Highness's presence,

which was done. So he was brought in very solemnly, with sound of trumpets, the King at Arms and Lords of *Purpoole* making to his company, which marched before him in order. He was received very kindly of the Prince, and placed in a chair besides his Highness, to the end that he might be a partaker of the sports intended."

Surely this must have thrilled our poet's heart with joy and gratitude. His presence at the Queen's court in the morning meant much, but here in this renowned Hall of Grays Inn, before the most cultured and critical audience in all England, must have meant much more. Yet what they were to witness was the merest trifle and his lightest farce. It was a comedy that must have appealed to Francis and Anthony Bacon, because they were both fond of a jest and knew by experience what it meant to be dunned for debt and sought by the sheriff. It is only a conjecture, but for my part I think the Bacon brothers may have suggested this farce for the occasion and that it was hurriedly dashed off by Shakespeare. At that period Anthony Bacon was living in Bishopsgate Street, near to play houses and players, and we are told Shakespeare also resided there.

To return to the *Gesta Grayorum* "When the ambassador was placed, as aforesaid, and that there was something to be performed for the delight of the beholders, there arose such a distorted tumult and crowd upon the stage, that there was no opportunity to effect that which was intended: there came so great a number of worshipful personages upon the stage that might not be displaced, and gentlewomen whose sex did privilege them from violence, that when the Prince and his officers had in vain, a good while, expected and endeavoured a reformation, at length there was no hope of redress for that present. The Lord Ambassador and his

train thought that they were not so kindly entertained as was before expected, and thereupon would not stay any longer at that time, but, in a sort, discontented and displeased. After their departure, the throngs and tumults did somewhat cease, although so much of them continued as was able to disorder and confound any good inventions whatsoever. In regard whereof, as also for that the sports intended were especially for the gracing the *Templarians*, it was thought good not to offer any thing of account, saving dancing and revelling with gentlewomen; and after such sports, a Comedy of Errors (like to Plautus his *Menechmus*) was played by the players. So that night war begun and continued to the end in nothing but confusion and errors; whereupon, it was ever afterwards called, "The Night of Errors."

The "players" were the servants of the Lord Chamberlain, Henry Carey, the first lord Hunsdon, whose daughter Margaret became the wife of Bacon's cousin, Sir Edward Hoby. His father, Sir Thomas Hoby, translated many works, among them "*The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castillo*." (See p. 40, *Gesta Grayorum*.) In 1558 Bacon's aunt, Elizabeth Cooke, became this gentleman's wife. I only mention the Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon to illustrate Bacon's nearness to the Elizabethan stage when Shakespeare arrived in London and to give reason for my conjecture that Bacon, more than any other man in London, could have aided the poet in the work he desired. To return to the *Comedy of Errors*:

"This mischanceful accident sorting so ill, to the great prejudice of the rest of our proceedings, was a great discouragement and disparagement to our whole state; yet it gave occasion to the lawyers of the Prince's Council, the next night, after revels, to read a commission of Oyer and Terminer, directed to certain Noblemen and Lords

of his Highness's Council, and others, that they should enquire, or cause enquiry to be made, of some great disorders and abuses lately done and committed within his Highness's dominions of *Purpoole*, especially by sorceries and inchantments; and namely, of a great witchcraft used the night before, whereby there were great disorders and misdemeanours, by hurly-burlies, crowds, errors, confusions, vain representations, and shows, to the utter discredit of our state and policy."

Now those who read between the lines know that this "mischanceful accident" was all cut and dried before hand to give the gentlemen actors a chance for their "law-sports." So the *Gesta Grayorum* continues: "The next night upon this occasion, we preferred judgments thick and three-fold which were read publicly by the Clerk of the Crown, being all against a sorcerer or conjurer that was supposed to be the cause of that confused inconvenience. Therein was contained, How he had caused the stage to be built, and scaffolds to be reared to the top of the house, to increase expectation. Also how he had caused divers ladies and gentlemen, and others of good condition to be invited to our sports; also our dearest friend the *State of Templaria*, to be disgraced, and disappointed of their entertainment, deserved and intended. Also that he caused throngs and tumults, crowds and outrages, to disturb our whole proceedings. And lastly, that he had foisted a company of base and common fellows, to make up our disorders with a play of Errors and Confusions; and that that night had gained to us discredit, and itself a nickname of Errors. All which were against the crown and dignity of our Sovereign Lord the Prince of *Purpoole*."

Who was this "sorcerer or conjurer" that caused the

stage to be built and scaffolds to be reared to the top of the house," and lastly had foisted a company of base and common fellows to make up our disorders? He is not named in the *Gesta Grayorum*, which says:

"Under colour of these proceedings, were laid open to the view all the causes of note that were committed by our chiefest statesmen in the government of our principality; and every officer in any great place, that had not performed his duty in that service, was taxed hereby, from the highest to the lowest, not sparing the guard and porters, that suffered so many disordered persons to enter in at the court gates: upon whose aforesaid indictments the prisoner was arraigned at the bar, being brought thither by the Lieutenant of the Tower (for at that time the stocks were graced with that name); and the Sheriff impannelled a jury of twenty-four gentlemen, that were to give their verdict upon the evidence given. The prisoner appealed to the Prince his Excellency for justice; and humbly desired that it would please his Highness to understand the truth of the matter by his supplication, which he had ready to be offered to the Master of the Requests. The Prince gave leave to the Master of the Requests, that he should read the petition; wherein was a disclosure of all the knavery and juggling of the Attorney and Solicitor, which had brought all his law-stuff on purpose to blind the eyes of his Excellency and all the honourable Court there, going about to make them think that those things which they all saw and perceived sensibly to be in very deed done, and actually performed, were nothing else but vain illusions, fancies, dreams and enchantments, and to be wrought and compassed by the means of a poor harmless wretch, that never had heard of such great matters in all his life; whereas the very fault was in the negligence of the Prince's Coun-

cil, Lords, and Officers of his State, that had the rule of the roast, and by whose advice the Commonwealth was so soundly misgoverned. To prove these things to be true he brought divers instances of great absurdities committed by the greatest: and made such allegations as could not be denied. These were done by some that were touched by the Attorney and Solicitor in their former proceedings, and they used the prisoner's names for means of quittance with them in that behalf. But the Prince and States-men (being pinched on both sides by both parties) were not a little offended at the great liberty that they had taken in censuring so far of his Highness's government; and thereupon the prisoner was freed and pardoned, the Attorney, Solicitor, Master of the Requests, and those that were acquainted with the draught of the petition, were all of them commanded to the Tower; so the Lieutenant took charge of them. And this was the end of our law-sports, concerning the Night of Errors."

The Gesta Grayorum does not tell us the name of the "poor, harmless wretch, that never heard of such great matters in all his life" by whose means all these "enchantments" were wrought. I cannot help thinking:

*"Those oft are stratagems which Errors seem,
Nor is it Homer nods, but we that dream."*

Drayton, in his epistle to his "dearly loved friend, Henry Reynolds, Esq., of *Poets and Poesy*," in 1627, writes thus of himself and Sir Henry Goodere:

*For from my cradle (you must know that) I
Was still inclin'd to noble poesy,
And when that once pueriles I had read,
And newly had my Cato construed,*

*In my small self I greatly marvell'd then,
 Amongst all other, what strange kind of men
 These poets were, and pleased with the name,
 To my mild tutor merrily I came,
 (For I was then a proper goodly page,
 Much like a pigmy scarce ten years of age)
 Claspng my slender arms about his thigh.
 "O my dear master! cannot you" (quoth I)
 "Make me a poet? Do it, if you can,
 And you shall see, I'll quickly be a man."
 Who me thus answer'd smiling, "Boy," quoth he,
 "If you'll not play the wag, but I may see
 You ply your learning, I will shortly read
 Some poets to you."*

What would we not have given to have had even a line or two from "the star of poets" to tell us how he began to woo the Muse! It is known that Dr. John Hall Shakespeare's son-in-law left some manuscripts which a certain James Cooke, a physician and surgeon of London, purchased from Dr. Hall's widow. These "*Select Observations on English Bodies*" were "Englished by James Cooke and published in London in 1657. The book "gives cases of persons connected with the poet's family, and also of Drayton, the Poet" (see Lowndes), but does not mention the poet himself. Dr. Hall never dreamed how interested posterity would be in Shakespeare else he would have described the poet's last illness and death minutely. At any rate, it seems Drayton was a patient of Dr. Hall's, and although he never mentions the name of Shakespeare but once I am convinced he knew him well if not intimately. In a MSS. of the Rev. John Ward, 1661-1663, there are some extracts relating to the poet from which I select three: "I have heard yt Mr.

Shakespeare was a natural wit, without any art at all; hee frequented ye plays all his younger time, but in his elder days lived at Stratford."

"Shakespear, Drayton, and Ben Jonson had a merry meeting, and itt seems drank too hard, for Shakespear died of a feavour there contracted."

"A letter to my brother, to see Mrs. Queeny, to send to Tom Smith for the acknowledgment."

This "Mrs. Queeny" was Judith Quiney, Shakespeare's daughter, who died in 1652. *Shakespeare's Centurie of Praise*. Revised by Lucy Toulmin Smith.

Now here we have Drayton again connected with the poet a little before the latter's death in April, 1616. Eleven years after Drayton pens these lines of faint praise, it seems to me, in his "*Of Poets and Poesy*":

*"Shakespeare, thou hadst as smoothe a Comicke vaine,
Fitting the socke, and in thy natural braine,
As strong conception, and as Cleere a rage,
As any one that trafiqu'd with the Stage."*

Which was faint praise indeed from one who knew Shakespeare so well. The word "*trafiqu'd*" is unpleasant to a Shakespearian ear; the poet himself never used it in a good sense. See *Winter Tale*, iv. 3, and *Timon of Athens*, i, 1, etc.

The Rev. John Ward's criticism of Shakespeare's "natural wit without any art at all" and Drayton's "as smoothe a Comicke vaine" seem rather to coincide. In regard to the "merry meeting" of the three poets I'm pretty sure Drayton never indulged in too much drink. The following lines to Henry Reynolds proves his tastes were moderate in this kind:

*“My dearly loved friend, how oft have we,
In winter evenings (meaning to be free)
To some well chosen place used to retire,
And there with moderate meat and wine, and fire,
Have passed the hours contentedly with chat”
of Poets and Poesy.*

That Ben Jonson drank too much is well known. Drummond tells us it “was the element in which he lived.” As for Shakespeare, we have nothing to go by but tradition, and that is not history. I am inclined to think Drayton was not very fond of Jonson, that there was no affinity between them, although they had been connected in their dramatic compositions in 1597-8 and again in 1605. I do not think Drayton cared much for the drama. His genius did not flow that way; the world of the Theatre was too loud for his sensitive spirit. He tells us in his *“Idea”* (1593-4) :

XLVII

In pride of wit when high desire of fame
Gave life and courage to my labouring pen,
And first the sound and virtue of my name
Won grace and credit in the ears of men;
With those the throngèd theatres that press
I in the circuit for the laurel strove,
Where the full praise, I freely must confess,
In heat of blood a modest mind might move;
With shouts and claps at every little pause
When the proud round on every side hath rung,
Sadly I sit, unmoved with the applause,
As though to me it nothing did belong.
No public glory vainly I pursue;
All that I seek is to eternize you.

Was "the proud round" the *Globe*? I think so. And as he was "nobly bred and well allyd" Ben Jonson may have sometimes grated on him. In fact Jonson knew there was some doubt expressed on their friendship, for he writes to Drayton:

*"It hath been question'd, Michael, if I be
A friend at all; or, if at all, to thee:
Because, who make the question, have not seen
Those ambling visits pass in verse between
Thy Muse and mine, as they expect. 'Tis true:
You have not writ to me, nor I to you;
And, though I now begin, 'tis not to rub
Haunch against haunch, or raise a rhyming club
About the town: This reck'ning I will pay,
Without conferring symbols. This 'is my way.'" (The
Vision of Ben Jonson.)*

I think these lines were written years after Shakespeare's death—about 1627. If taken in their literal sense they prove there had never been any correspondence between Drayton and Jonson up to that date. If Sir Henry Goodere taught Drayton what poets were at the age of ten, his fair daughter Anne's eyes taught him also at an early age the Alphabet of Love. In his *Idea* we find:

LXIV

Thine eyes taught me the alphabet of Love,
To con my cross-row ere I learned to spell
(For I was apt, a scholar like to prove),
Gave me sweet looks when-as I learned well.
Vows were my vowels, when I then begun
At my first lesson in thy sacred name;
My consonants, the next when I had done,

Words consonant and sounding to thy fame
My liquids then were liquid crystal tears,
My cares my mutes, so mute to crave relief;
My doleful diphthongs were my life's despairs,
Redoubling sighs, the accents of my grief.

My love's school-mistress now hath taught me so,
That I can read a story of my woe.

I have not been able to find out the date of Anne's birth, but she married Sir Henry Rainsford of Stratford-on-Avon in 1596. She must have been much younger than Drayton, because he writes of "seeing" her sister, Frances Goodere," "ever from her cradle." In *Harl MS.* 1167 Anne's name is placed before her sister Frances' in the pedigree of Sir Henry Goodere.

DEDICATION OF
LADY JANE GRAY,
TO THE VERTUOUS LADIE, THE LADY FRANCES
GOODERE,
WIFE TO SIR GOODERE, KNIGHT.

My very gracious and good mistris, the love and duetie I bare vnto your father whilest he liued, now after his decease is to you hereditarie; to whom by the blessing of your birth hee left his vertues. Who bequeathed you those which were his, gaue you whatsoeuer good is mine, as deuoted to his, hee being gone, whom I honoured so much whilst he liued; which you justly challenge by all sawes of thankfulnessse. My selfe hauing beene a witnesse of your excellent education, and milde disposition (as I may say) euer from your cradle, dedicate this epistle of this vertuous and godly lady to your selfe; so like her in all perfection, both of wisdome and learning.

which I pray you accept, till time enable me to leaue you some greater monument of my loue. *Chalmers, English Poets, Vol. IV.*

DEDICATION OF
MARY THE FRENCH QUEENE.
TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR HENRY
GOODERE OF POWLSWORTH, KNIGHT.

SIR, this poeme of mine, which I imparted to you, at my being with you at your lodging at London, in May last, brought at length to perfection, (emboldened by your wonted fauours) I adventure to make you patron of. Thus, sir, you see I haue aduentured to the world, with what like or dislike I know not: if it please, which I much doubt of) I pray you then be partaker of that which I shall esteeme not my least good; if dislike, it shall lessen some part of my grieffe, if it please you to allow but my love: howsoever I pray you accept it as kindly as I offer it, which though without many protestations, yet (I assure you) with much desire of your honour. Thus vntill such time as I may in some more larger measure, make knowne my love to the happie and generous familie of the Gooderes (to which I confesse my selfe to be beholding, for the most part of my education) I wish you all happiness. -

MICHAEL DRAYTON.

My object in giving these Dedications is to show Drayton's connection with Bacon's friends and kinsmen. Yet we have no word from Bacon or Drayton that they knew each other. The next is to Bacon's kinsman, Sir Anthony Cooke:

TO SIR ANTHONY COOKE.

VOUCHSAFE to grace these rude vnpolisht rimes,
Which but for you had slept in sable night,
Anl come abroad now in these glorious times,
Can hardly brooke the purenesse of the light,
But sith you see their destinie is such,
That in the world their fortune they must try,
Perhaps the better shall abide the tuch,
Wearing your name their gracious liuery,
Yet these mine owne, I wrong not other men,
Nor traffique farther than this happy clime,
Nor filch from Portes, nor from Petrarchs pen,
A fault too common in this latter time.

Diuine sir Philip, I auouch thy writ,
I am no pick-purse of anothers wit.

Chalmers, English Poets, Vol. IV.

BACON'S CONNECTION WITH THE BURBAGES

In Bacon's letter to Sir Thomas Lucy he speaks of certain lands in Warwickshire belonging to his cousin, Sir William Cooke, as follows:

"I send you, so required, an *Abstract*, of the *Lands of Inheritance*; And one *Lease* of great value, which my *Kinsman bringeth*; with a *Note*, of the *Tenures, Values, Contents, and State*, truly, and perfectly drawn; whereby you may perceive, the *Land* is good *Land*, and well countenanced, by scope of *Acres, Woods, and Royalties*; Though the *Total* of the *Rents*, be set down, as it now goeth, without Improvement: In which respect, it may somewhat differ, from your first *Note*. Out of this, what he will assure in *Jointure*, I leave it, to his own kindness; For I love not to measure Affection."

Among the lands enumerated I find one parcel occupied by a Robert Burbage, who may have been a retainer of the Cooke family as well as a tenant. (See Appendix B.)

As Richard Burbage was the original Hamlet and played the leading parts in Shakespeare's tragedies, we cannot pass the name of Burbage without comment. I have reason to think James Burbage, the builder of the first theatre in London, came from St. Albans. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 8, p. 139, 1860, I found this interesting document, mentioning a Thomas Burbage and a Robert Chester.

Original Documents.
DESIGNS OF FRANCE AGAINST HOLLAND.
BY THE QUEENE.

Elizabeth R.—Trusty and wellbilovid we grete you well.

Furst ye shall upon the receipt of thies our lettres use all the expedition that ye may possibly in sendyng to the partyes named in a Callender herewith sent unto youe, and do that ye may, either by sendyng for them unto you or otherwise, to cause hast to be made of the setting furth of the horsemen therein appointid, so as they may be at Newcastle before the XVIIIth day of January.

Item if any appointid by us shall at the tyme of our lettres cummyng unto youe, not be lyving, or otherwise so decayd as ye shall perceve that they cannot anywise be able to furnishe as they be appointed, then you shall consyder how the sayd nombre so failing may be supplied by others in the same countye not mentioned in the Callender, being able thereto and omittid by us. And for that purpos we haue also sent to youe certeyn our lettres under our signet not directed, which we do authorize you to direct as ye shall see cause. Wherein you may haue good remembrance to charge such as by the statute made in the xxxiiith yere of our fathers tyme be chargid to fynde great horses either by the rate of their Landes or by appareilling their wiefes with french-hooddes. And such as ye shall fynd chargeable by lawe and not willing therto ye shall immedyately certifye vs thereof. But if any appointide by vs haue but removed his habitation out of that countye at the tyme of our lettres cummyng unto youe, then our pleasuer is that ye shall cause the same to be sent either to himself if he be but in the next Shire, or to the Shirif of the Shire.

Item, if ye shall perceve that sum namid haue not sufficient horse for a demylaunce, and yet have a good strong gelding able to carry a man with a corslet, a borespere, or a javelyn with a pistolet, ye shall in that case make choise thereof as ye think metest for our service.

Item, if sum of the persons appointed haue not in redynes a corslet or a demilaunce harneys there in the countrey to be hastily sent awaye, then in that case, rather than to haue our service delayed ye shall send the men away with their horses to Newcastel, where they shall fynd armure for them vppon reasonable prices, that is to say, a demilaunce at liiis. iiiid., a corslet at xxxs., a launce staff at iiis. iiiid., and a pistolet complet at xviss. viiid. And in this behalf ye shall do well to gyve order to the parties appointed to delyver money for the same to their horsmen. And ye shall assure the partye, that we haue taken such order with our sayd cousyn of Norff., that there shalbe a speciall care hade that euery person sent furth shall haue his horse, his armurs, and weapon well preserved, and retourned if in service they be not lost, against which chaunce no remedy can be prouided.

Item, where we require to haue the nombre of xxviiⁱⁱ horsmen out of that countye, as by the Callender appereth, vppon which nombre we haue made an accompt of service with our sayd cousyn of Norff., our earnest request is to youe that in no wise the nombre be made lesse, but rathr advaunced, vsing our lettres being not indorsed for that purpos, and in any wise to have the third part to be furnished with demilaunces as nigh as youe maye and the rest to be meet to carry corslets and pistolets; And of your doings our pleasuer is ye shall advirtise both vs and our sayd cousyn of Norff., both that we may see the same how it is expeditid, and he also how he

may direct his purposes thereafter. And therein vpon knowledge had from our sayd cousyn of tharryvall thereof we shall accept your doinges in so good part as ye shall think the same well bestowed.

Finally, our pleasuer is that ye shall impert asmoch herof to the Shirif of the Shire as ye think meet, and in our name use the help of him and is bayllyves for the spedy delivery of our Lettres, or for any other message thereto requisite. And thies our lettres shalbe your sufficient warrant in this behalf yeven vnder our signet at our Pallace at Westm. the xxviith of December the seconde yere of our reign. (1559.)

To our trusty and welbeloued Sir Raff. Rowlet and Sir John Butler, Knightes, and to either of them.

COM. HERTFORD.

Tucke, esquier	1	launce
Sir John Butler, knight.....	1	l.
Edmunde Twynyhoo, esquier.....	1	l.
John Horniolde, esquier.....	1	l.
Henry Hyckman and Walter Wythe.....	1	corslet
Sir William Skipwithe.....	1	launce, 1 corslet
William Dodd, esquier.....	1	launce
Sir Robert Chester, knight.....	1	l.
ffrancis Southwell, esquier.....	1	l.
Elizabethhe Butler, widowe.....	1	l.
John Purvey, esquier.....	1	l.
John Knighton, esquier	1	l.
George Dacres, esquier.....	1	l.
John Harrington, esquier.....	1	l.
Edwarde Basshe, esquier.....	1	l.
Thomas Burbage	1	l.
Nicholas Aylewarde	1	l.
Sir Richarde Rede, knight.....	1	l.

Thomas Rolfe, gent.....	1 l.
The Lady Elizabeth Pope.....	1 l.
Edwarde Capell, esquier.....	1 l.
Sir Richard Lee, knight.....	1 l.
Sir Rauf Rowlett, knight.....	1 l.
Richarde Raynshawe, esquier.....	1 l.
Dorothie Skipwith, widowe.....	1 l.
William Barlee, esquier.....	1 corslet

The Queen's "trusty and well beloved Sir Raffe Rowlett" was Sheriff of Hertfordshire, and had married Bacon's aunt the year before. This gentleman fell heir to the estate of Gorhambury and sold it to Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper, in 1561. Bacon's aunt, Margaret Cooke, the "Quene's maide," did not survive her marriage long, as we see by the following entry written by Bacon's uncle, Sir Thomas Hobey, in his Diary, 1558:

"Monday the xxvij of June, the marriage was made and solemnized between me and Elizabeth Cooke, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, knight. The same day was also her sister Margaret, the Quene's maid, married to Sir Rauf Rowlet, knight, who shortlie after departed out of this life."¹

I have no doubt the Thomas Burbage herein mentioned, who furnished "launce," was related to the actor, James Burbage. As early as 1559, Elizabeth's favorite, the Earl of Leicester, had a company of players. In 1574 James Burbage was in Leicester's company. He built his first theatre close to Bishopsgate road in 1576. When Sir William Moore of Losely Surrey, in 1595-6, consigned to him a large house in Blackfriars, which he converted into the Blackfriars Theatre, he signs himself James Burbage, *gentleman*. Yet his son, Cuthbert Burbage, did not apply for a coat-of-arms until 1634. He then claimed he belonged to a Hertfordshire family.

¹*Camden Miscellany*, Vol. X, p. 127.

The following item taken from *Burbage and Shakespeare Stage*, p. 243, connects Francis Bacon directly with one William Burbage:

“Francis Bacon had a case in Chancery against a William Burbage, about property left to his brother, Anthony Bacon. See Chancery, D. & O., Book 1590, 32-33, Eliz. f. 533, 621, 626, 684, 691.”

This was in 1590-1. Anthony Bacon died 1601. It would be interesting to know more about this suit, and I hope it will be followed up by some loving student of the Bacon brothers. The Masters in Chancery prior to 1597, were:

Sir William Birde.

Thomas Legg.

Sir Edward Stanhope.²

That indefatigable scholar, Mrs. C. C. Stopes Hon, F. R. S. L., has “found a real association of Francis Bacon with the Theatre.” It seems Bacon, in 44 Eliza., saved Cuthbert Burbage from bankruptcy and ruin³ as follows:

“On 17th June, 44 Eliz., Richard Hudson and Thomas Osborne said that *none* of the matters with which Giles Alleyn charged them were true and demurred against his bill being brought against them. The Court therefore referred the case to the consideration of the right worshipful Francis Bacon, Esq., and ‘he reporteth that the said Bill is very uncertain and insufficient, and that *no further answer needeth to be made thereto.*’

“Here at last I have found a real association of Francis Bacon with the Theatre, and I am glad to find he supported its owners and friends. But it was only, as we have seen, in his *legal capacity*, not a poetic one at all. This case, it may be seen by the dates, was running concurrently with

²*Hayden*, p. 230.

³*Burbage and Shakespeare Stage*, pp. 84-85.

Alleyn's second case at Common Law against Cuthbert Burbage for breach of covenant, which was brought in Hilary term, 43 Eliz., heard in Easter term, 44 Eliz., 1602, on the Quindene of Easter. Cuthbert had defended himself, Giles and Sara threw themselves on the country and demanded a jury—which was not named—and no decision was come to because this Star Chamber case decision of June, 1602, covered the proceedings in that court, as well as in all others.

“So, at last, by midsummer 1602, Cuthbert Burbage cast the millstone of Alleyn's law-suits from his neck. The gall must have remained in him for long, for much trouble and anxiety had been spent, and much more money than would appear on the surface. It would be a little alleviation to him that Giles Alleyn would have to pay costs in both of the latter courts of Star Chamber, and King's Bench. But it would not cover the losses to the family, or to the Globe Company, for the output and the actor Richard's time and strength must have been occupied considerably also.”

And further:

Jur. 12th June 44 Eliz., per Richard Hudson.

17th June 44 Eliz., per Thomas Osborne.

“The joynte and severall demurrers of Richard Hudson and Thomas Osborne defendants. By protestation not acknowledging nor confessinge anie of the matters conteyned in the said Bill that they are charged with are true.

The Bill of Complaint brought against them and others is very untrue, slanderous and uncertain and insufficient in Lawe to be answered and they are not tied to make any answer for divers faults and namelie for that the matters and supposed perjury in the said Bill, in which they are charged, are so uncertainly layed, these defendants cannot make any answer and the other defendants having

been served with a process, and having appeared and demurred "which demurrer being referred by the Orders of the Court to the right worshipful Francis Bacon Esquire, he uppon perusal and consideration had of the said Bill of Complaint hath already reported that the said Bill is very uncertayne and insufficient, and that *no further answer nedeth to be made thereto.*"

For which causes and for divers other matters and defects in the said Bill appearing, they the said defendants do demur in Law upon the said Bill and pray to be dismissed from this honorable court with costs.⁴

It seems that Richard Hudson mentioned in the above lawsuit was from St. Albans.

One James Hudson was a great friend of the Bacons and became a member of Grays Inn in 1603. But he was a gentleman and one of the King's servants. In 1583, by agreement of the Readers at Grays Inn, John Hudson of the kitchen was given vi^s viii^d towards his marriage.⁵

In Sir Francis Bacon's accounts for 1609 I find: "To Mr. Hudson 29 November 1609 in full paiment of all his bills for wine 47 6 5.⁶

It is gratifying to know Francis Bacon was of use to so deserving a man as Cuthbert Burbage, and I have reason to think Elizabeth, daughter of Cuthbert Burbage, married into a family that was related to Bacon. Mildred Cooke, daughter of William Cooke of Hartshill, Warwickshire, married Sir Henry Maxey, Kt., of Bradwell Co., Essex. Lady Maxey was a friend of Anne Fitton (Lady Newdigate).⁷

Cuthbert Burbage's daughter married an Amias Maxey.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁵*Pension Book Grays Inn*, p. 484.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 492.

⁷*Gossip from a Muniment Room*, p. 170.

⁸*Burbage and Shakespeare Stage*, p. 134.

On 23 April, 1617, Lord Chancellor Bacon writes the following letter to one Mr. Maxey, to whom he presents the rectory of Frome St. Quinton, with the chapel of Evershot in Dorsetshire:

“After my hearty commendations, I have heard of you, as a man well deserving, and of able gifts to become profitable in the Church; and there being fallen within my gift the rectory of &c which seems to be a thing of good value, £18 in the King’s books, and in a good country, I have thought good to make offer of it to you; the rather that you are of Trinity College, whereof myself was some time: and my purpose is to make choice of men rather by care and inquiry, than by their own suits and commendatory letters. So I bid you farewell from Dorset House, 23 April 1617.”

The next day Bacon presented the poet, Giles Fletcher, also of Trinity College, Cambridge, to the rectory of Hellmingham in Suffolk.⁹

Now the beautiful thing about these gifts of Bacon’s is that he, through “care and inquiry,” sought these gentlemen out and rewarded them—something Elizabeth and his kinsmen, the Cecils, had never done for him in all his struggles. It is such deeds as the above that show Bacon in his true colors, and it is only one out of hundreds I could point out.

I desire the reader to bear in mind the following sad letters were written during the time the *Gesta Grayorum* was conceived and carried out. The letter from Bacon’s mother, whose mind was even then failing (she died in 1610) interests me because I have found that the Robert Knight mentioned was a Porter at Grays Inn. Mr. Reginald J. Fletcher, M. A., Editor *Pension Book of Grays Inn*, says they did not have a porter until 1590.

⁹Spedding’s *Letters and Life of Bacon*, Vol. VI., p. 172.

A Robert Knight's daughter married a Radus Rowlett, and Lady Anne Bacon's youngest sister Margaret married Sir Ralph Rowlett in 1558.

LADY BACON TO FRANCIS BACON.

Gray's Inn, Aug. 26, 1594.

I was so full of back-pain when you came hither, that my memory was very slippery. I forgot to mention of rents. If you have not, I have not, received Frank's last half-year of Midsummer, the first half so long unpaid. You will mar your tenants if you suffer them. Mr. Brocquet is suffered by your brother to cosen me and beguile me without check. I fear you came too late to London for your horse: ever regard them. I desire Mr. Trot to hearken to some honest man, and cook too as he may. If you can hear of a convenient place I shall be willing if it so please God; for Lawson will draw your brother wherever he chooses, as I really fear, and that with false semblance. God give you both good health and hearts to serve him truly, and bless you always with his favour. I send you pigeons taken this day, and let blood. Look well about you and yours too. I hear that Robert Knight is but sickly. I am sorry for it. I do not write to my Lord-Treasurer, because you like to stay. Let this letter be unseen. Look very well to your health; sup not, nor sit up late. Surely I think your drinking to bedwards hindereth your and your brother's digestion very much. I never knew any but sickly that used it, besides being ill for heads and eyes. Observe well, yet in time. Farewell in Christ.

A. BACON.

There were several Lawsons, members of Grays Inn. The one mentioned by Lady Anne may have been one of

the *Gentlemen Pensioners* in the *Gesta Grayorum*. Her sentence, "I desire Mr. Trot to hearken to some honest man and 'cook' too as he may," may refer to her nephew Cooke who was one of Bacon's Suretys:

FRANCIS BACON TO ANTHONY BACON.

My cousin Cook is some four days home, and appointeth towards Italy that day sennight. I pray take care for the money to be paid over within four or five days. The sum you will remember is 150*l*. I hear nothing from the Court in mine own business. I steal to Twickenham, purposing to return this night, else I had visited you as I came from the town. Thus in haste I leave you to God's preservation.

Your entire loving brother,

FR. BACON.

Bacon often stole to Twickenham, which he called his "earthly paradise"; but on Jan. 28 he is back at Grays Inn attending the Pensions. I find he was absent from them during the months of April, May, and June, as well as the summer of 1594, the year in which Shakespeare brought out his *Lucrece*. He was present again in Nov. 18, 1594.

On Nov. 20, 1594, the Pensions were held at St. Albans. It would be pleasant to know they were held at Gorham-bury, Bacon's country home.

Dixon, referring to this period, says:

"Anthony is not now at Gray's Inn Square, having taken a house in Bishopsgate-street, a fashionable part of the city, near the famous Bull Inn, where plays are performed before cits and gentlemen, very much to the delight of Essex and his jovial crew, but very much, as Lady Ann conceives, to the peril of her son's soul. The good mother cannot put old heads on young necks, say

what she will. "I am sorry," she writes to her easy elder-born, "your brother and you charge yourselves with superfluous horses; the wise will laugh at you; being but trouble to you both; besides your debts, long journeys, and private persons. Earls be earls." There is the rub. Lady Ann knows, and does not love, these madcap earls.

By help of Cecil, and the Vice-Chamberlain, Fulke Greville, Bacon succeeds so far as to get the nomination of Solicitor put off. For more than a year the situation undergoes no change.

Bacon is sick of heart; looks wan and thin, as all the world takes note. The heady Earl has proved to him a fatal friend."

Perhaps Anthony Bacon who was now living in Bishopsgate Street had met Shakespeare, who, we are told, had a house also in Bishopsgate.

We will now turn to Spedding's Letters and Life of Bacon for the following letters and memorandum, for it is drawing very near the time when the Sports and revels in the *Gesta Grayorum* are to be given at Grays Inn, and they show another side of Francis Bacon, whom many to this day call "*dryasdust* Bacon."

Spedding says:

1594 "Michaelmas Term passed; winter set in early with frost and snow; and still no Solicitor appointed. Meanwhile the burden of debt and the difficulty of obtaining necessary supplies was daily increasing. Anthony's correspondence during this autumn is full of urgent applications to various friends for loans of money, and the following memorandum shows that much of his own necessity arose from his anxiety to supply the necessities of his brother." Vol. 1, p. 321.

“Memorandum. That the fourth of October, '94, at my brother coming to me after a fit of the stone, and falling into talk of the money he ought me as principal debt, he acknowledged to be due to me £650; whereof £200 I borrowed of Mr. Mills and paid it him again; £200 of the money I had of Alderman Spencer; £100 before he went his journey into the north, £60 in money and £40 for my coach-horses; £150 after his return; besides many other payments to Mr. Senhouse and others.” *Ibid.*, p. 322.

This “journey into the north” was taken at the Queen’s command. She little dreamed these two poor gentlemen had to borrow the money for the journey. If she did she cared not. Nor did she recall the vast sum it cost their father Sir Nicholas Bacon to entertain her four days at Gorhambury in 1573.

FRANCIS BACON TO HIS BROTHER ANTHONY.

1594 BROTHER:

I did move you to join with me in security for £500, which I did purpose then dividedly to have taken up, £300 elsewhere, and £200 by way of forbearance, both to the satisfaction of Peter Vanlore (?). Hereunto, I thank you, you assented. I have now agreed with Peter for the taking up of the whole of one man, according to which I send you the bonds. And whereas you shall find the bond to be of £600, which is £100 more; true it is that first the jewel cost £500 and odd, as shall appear to you by my bond. Next I promise you immediately (for we are agreed so) to free you of one hundreth, for which you stand bound to Mr. William Fleetwood. So in haste I commend

you to God's good preservation: from my chamber
in Gray's Inn, this 10th of December.

Your entire loving brother,

FR. BACON.

Ibid., p. 324.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

BROTHER:

I have written a few words to Sir Antonio Perez, which if you allow I pray seal and deliver to my servant to bear. I did doubt I should not see him of these two or three days; which made me use *litteris praecursoriis*. I have since considered of a marvellous apt man to be joined in trust, in that the world taketh note of him for true honesty, and is obliged to my Lord's house, being used in near confidence by Mr. Secretary. It is Mr. William Gerrard of Gray's Inn, who also by reason of his abode is at hand to repair to me for conference. If your opinion concur, let us rest upon him in case the occasion be given. *Qd. erit e re domini*. So in haste, desirous to hear of your good night's rest, I further salute you with Mr. Milles his new bond *sine litura*. From my chamber at Gray's Inn, this 13th of December, 1594.

Your entire loving brother,

FR. BACON.

—*Ibid* p. 325.

Spedding adds:

"I trust they will not mum nor mask nor sinfully revel" (so writes Lady Bacon to her son Anthony, on the 5th of December) "at Gray's Inn. Who were sometime counted first, God grant they wane not daily and deserve to be named last." But it was too late for

praying. The youth of Gray's Inn were already deep in sinful consultation. Their revels, in which they used excel, had been intermitted for the last three or four years, and they were resolved to redeem the time by producing this year something out of the common way. Their device was to turn Gray's Inn, "with the consent and advice of the Readers and Ancients," into the semblance of a court and kingdom, and to entertain each other during the twelve days of Christmas licence with playing at kings and counsellors. *Ibid*, Vol. 1, p. 326.

The years 1592, 1593, and 1594, were particularly sad and distressing ones for Lady Anne Bacon and her gifted sons, Anthony and Francis Bacon. Here is a letter from Francis to his mother which was written about the time Shakespeare brought out *Venus and Adonis*.

FRANCIS BACON TO LADY BACON.

From Gray's Inn, April 16, 1593.

My duty most humbly remembered. I assure myself that your ladyship, as a wise and kind mother to us both, will neither find it strange nor unwise that, tendering first my brother's health, which I know by mine own experience to depend not a little upon a free mind, and then his credit, I presume to put your ladyship in remembrance of your motherly offer to him the same day you departed, which was that to help him out of debt you would be content to bestow your whole interest in markes upon him. The which unless it would please your ladyship to accomplish out of hand, I have just cause to fear that my brother will be put to a very shrewde plunge, either to forfeit his reversion to Harwin (?) or else to undersell it very much; for the avoiding of both which great inconveniences I see no other remedy than your ladyship surrender in time, the formal drafte whereof I

refer to my brother himself, whom I have not any way as yet made acquainted with this my motion, neither mean to do till I hear from you. The ground whereof being only a brotherly care and affection, I hope your ladyship will think and accept of it accordingly: beseeching you to believe that being so near and dear part of me as he is, that cannot but be a grief unto me to see a mind that hath given so sufficient proof of wit (?) in having brought forth many good thoughts for the general to be overburdened and cumbered with a care of clearing his particular estate. Touching myself, my diet, I thank God, hitherto hath wrought good effect, and am advised to continue this whole month, not meddling with any purgative physic more than I must needs, which will be but a trifle during my whole diet; and so I most humbly take my leave.

F. B.

Dixon in his *Personal History of Lord Bacon* says of this sad year for the loving brothers:

“No young fellow of Gray’s Inn, waiting for the tide to flow, is sharper set for funds than the young knight for Middlesex or his elder brother. Anthony tries to raise his rents, and some of the men about him—godless rogues, as Lady Bacon says—propose that he shall let his farms to the highest bidders. Goodman Grinnell, who has the land at Barly, pays less rent than he ought: let him go out and a better man come in. But Goodman Grinnell speeds with his long face to Lady Ann. “What!” cries the good lady to her son; “turn out the Grinnells! Why, the Grinnells have lived at Barly these hundred and twenty years!” So the brothers have to look elsewhere. Bonds are coming due. A famous money-lender lives in the city, Spencer by name, rich as

a Jew and close as a miser; him they go to, cap in hand, and with honeyed words. The miser is a good miser, and allows his bond to lie. Francis writes to him from his brother Edward's house at Twickenham Park, to which he has removed from Gray's Inn for the benefit of country air."

FRANCIS BACON TO MR. SPENCER.

Twickenham Park, Sept. 19, 1593.

GOOD MR. SPENCER,

Having understood by my man your kind offer to send my brother and me our old bond, we both accept the same with hearty thanks, and pray you to cause a new to be made for half a year more, which I will both sign and seal before one Booth, a scrivener, here at Isleworth, and deliver it him to your use, which you know will be as good in law as though you were here present. True it is that I cannot promise that my brother should be here at that time to join with me, by reason of his daily attendance in court, by occasion whereof I am to be your sole debtor in the new bond. As for the mesne profits thereof, you will receive them presently. I have given charge to my man to deliver it. And so with my right hearty commendations from my brother and myself, with like thanks for your good will and kindness towards us, which we always shall be ready to acknowledge when and wherein we may, I commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

Your assured loving friend,

FR. BACON.

Dixon continues:

"Bacon lies sick the whole summer of 1593, as a note to his old friend Lady Paulett shows. Her ladyship, who was so kind to him in his younger days in France, is now a widow; his good friend Sir Amias sleeping the great

sleep under a splendid tomb in the chancel of St. Martin's church. Bacon is proud and glad to do the widow service."

FRANCIS BACON TO LADY PAULETT.

Twickenham Park, Sept. 23, 1593.

MADAM,

Being not able myself, by reason of my long languishing infirmity, to render unto your ladyship by a personal visitation the respect I owe unto your ladyship, I would not fail to acquit some part of my debt by sending this bearer, my servant, expressly to know how your ladyship doth, which I beseech God may be no worse than I wish and have just cause to wish, considering your ladyship's ancient and especial kindness towards me. Which if I have not hitherto acknowledged it hath been only for want of fit occasions, but no way of dutiful affection, as I hope in time, with God's help, I shall be able to verify by good effects towards the young gentleman Mr. Blount, your nephew, or any other that appertains unto your ladyship. This is, good madam, much less than you deserve and yet all I can offer, which, notwithstanding, I hope you will accept, not that it is aught worth of itself, but in respect of the unfeigned good will from whence it proceedeth. And so, with my humble and right hearty commendations unto your good ladyship, I beseech God to bless you with increase of comfort in mind and body, and admit you to his holy protection.

Your ladyship's assured and ready in all kind affection to do you service.

FR. BACON.

This Lady was the wife of Sir Amias Poulet, Elizabeth's Ambassadors to France, with whom Bacon went

Abroad in 1576 at the age of sixteen. Sir Amias Poulet was Keeper of Mary, Queen of Scots, when in 1586 Elizabeth hinted at her assassination, and his well-known letter to Sir Francis Walsingham wherein he says: "God forbid that I should make so pour a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my poor posterity, to shed blood without law or warrant." I have often wondered if this "Mr. Blount," Lady Poulet's nephew, to whom Bacon refers, was the Ed. Blount who in 1623 added sixteen of Shakespeare's plays to the first folio which had never been printed before or given to other men?

This suggestion may be worth looking into. Other letters from Francis Bacon follow, Dixon says:

"Duns weigh on the two brothers. Here are two notes to Lady Ann, both from Francis, full of the same sad romance of love and debt. One runs:

FRANCIS BACON TO LADY BACON.

From the Court, Oct. 3, 1593.

MADAM,

I received this afternoon at the Court your letter, after I had sent back your horse and written to you this morning. And for my brother's kindness, it is accustomed; he never having yet refused his security for me, as I, on the other side, never made any difficulty to do the like by him, according to our several occasions. And therefore, if it be not to his own disfurnishing, which I reckon all one with mine own want, I shall receive good ease by that hundred pounds; specially your ladyship of your goodness being content it shall be repaid of Mr. Boldroe's debt, which it pleased you to bestow upon me. And my desire is, it shall be paid to Knight at Gray's Inn, who shall receive order from me to pay two fifths

[?] (which I wish had been two hundred) where I owe, and where it presseth me most. Sir John Fortescue is not yet in Court; both to him and otherwise I will be mindful of Mr. Downing's cause and liberty with the first opportunity. Mr. Nevill, my cousin, though I be further distant than I expected, yet I shall have an apt occasion to remember. To my cousin Kemp I am sending. But that would rest between your ladyship and myself, as you said. Thus I commend your ladyship to God's good providence.

Your Ladyship's most obedient,

FR. BACON.

FRANCIS BACON TO LADY BACON.

Twickenham Park, Nov. 2, 1593.

MADAM,

I most humbly thank your ladyship for your letter and sending your man Bashawe to visit me, who purposeth with God's help so soon as possibly I can to do my duty to your ladyship, but the soonest I doubt will be to-morrow or next Monday come sennight. My brother, I think, will go to Saint Albans sooner, with my Lord Keeper, who hath kindly offered him room in his obscure lodgings there, as he hath already resigned unto him the use of his chamber in the Court. God forbid that your ladyship should trouble yourself with any extraordinary care in respect of our presence, which if we thought should be the least cause of your discontentment, we would rather absent ourselves than occasion any way your ladyship disquietness. As for Sotheram, I have been and shall be always ready to hear dutifully your ladyship's motherly admonitions touching him or any other man or matter, and to respect them as I ought.

And so, with remembrance of my humble duties, I beseech God to bless and preserve your ladyship.

F. B.

Dixon in his "Personal Life of Bacon," says: Essex is poor. Dress, dinners, horses, courtesans exhaust his coffers. If he cannot pay in coin he will pay in place. His servant Francis Bacon shall be made the Queen's Solicitor. Essex swears it. . . . Egerton and Fortescue urge his suit with admiring friendship on the Queen. Every one at the bar, save only Coke, admits his claim to place. . . . At first the Queen is gracious; extols Bacon's eloquence and wit, while doubting if he be deep in law. It only needs that his nomination shall be made in the proper way; because it is the best, not because this or that lord of her Court may wish it made. This does not please the Earl. Pledged to make Bacon's fortune, he will not stoop to see his own debts paid by another hand. The work must be his own: "Upon me," he says, "must lie the labour of his establishment; upon me the disgrace will light of his refusal."

The Queen gets angry at this selfish pride. When he talks of Bacon she shuts her ears; but night and day he hammers at the name; doing his full of mischief; fretting and sulking till he drives her mad. Never were good intentions worse bestowed. A brief note from the Earl to Bacon brings the impatient Queen and her importunate suitor on the scene:—

THE EARL OF ESSEX TO FRANCIS BACON.

Gray's Inn, May 1, 1594.

SIR,

The Queen did yesternight fly the gift, and I do wish, if it be no impediment to the cause you do handle tomorrow, you did attend again this afternoon. I will be

at the Court in the evening, and go with Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, so as, if you fail before we come, yet afterwards I doubt not but he or I shall bring you together. This I write in haste because I would have no opportunity omitted in this point of access. I wish to you as to myself, and rest

Your most affectionate friend,

Essex.

Dixon continues: The Queen will not see him.

Bacon is surprised and hurt. His hopes for the moment dashed, he perceives no chance of succeeding even at a better time, unless the Queen can be induced to leave the Solicitorship for the present void. To this end he applies to his cousin Cecil. Here is his note:

FRANCIS BACON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

MY MOST HONORABLE GOOD COUSIN,

Your honour in your wisdom doth well perceive that my access at this time is grown desperate in regard of the hard terms that as well the Earl of Essex as Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, who were to have been the means thereof, stand in with her in acceding to their occasions. And therefore I am now only to fall upon that point of delaying and preserving the matter entire till a better constellation, which, as it is not hard, as I conceive, considering the proving business and the instant Progress, &c., so I recommend in special to your honour's care, who in sort assured me thereof, and upon [whom] now in my lord of Essex' absence I have only to rely. And if it be needful, I humbly pray you to move my Lord your father to lay his sure hand to the same delay. And so I wish you all increase of honour.

Your poor kinsman in faithful prayers and duty,

FRANCIS BACON.

Cecil, who knows that the Earl, and none but the Earl, stands in the way of his cousin's rise, writes back, on the same sheet of paper, in the left corner, these words:—

SIR ROBERT CECIL TO FRANCIS BACON.

COUSIN,

I do think nothing cuts the throat more of your present access than the Earl's being somewhat troubled at this time. For the delaying, I think it not hard; neither shall there want my best endeavours to make it easy, of which I hope you shall not need to doubt. By the judgment which I gather of divers circumstances confirming my opinion, I protest I suffer with you in mind that you are thus yet gravelled; but time will founder all your competitors and set you on your feet, or else I have little understanding." *Ibid.*

Thus Sir Robert Cecil, the *Iago* of Elizabeth's Court, writes to his poor kinsman. "Mr. Vice Chamberlain" was Sir Thomas Heneage of *Gesta Grayorum* interest. He had helped many of Elizabeth's favorites to gain her good graces, namely Leicester, Hatton, Essex, and others. To return to Mr. Dixon who says:

"For the first time in his life Bacon is now a stranger at the court. Lady Ann lies sick at Gorhambury; so sick, that the "good Christian and Saint of God," as her son affectionately calls her, makes up her soul for death. Two of her household have been snatched away from her side by plague or fever. She is down with ague. Bacon wrestles with her resignation, praying her to use all helps and comforts that are good for her health, to the end that she may be spared to her children and her friends, and to that church of God which has so much need of her. Here is the letter from which these particulars are derived":

FRANCIS BACON TO LADY BACON.

June 9, 1594.

"My humble duty remembered, I was sorry to understand by Goodman Sotheram that your ladyship did find any weakness, which I hope was but caused by the season and weather, which waxeth more hot and faint. I was not sorry, I assure your ladyship, that you came not up, in regard that the stirring at this time of year, and the place where you should lie not being very open nor fresh, might rather hurt your ladyship than otherwise. And for anything to be passed to Mr. Trot, such is his kindness, as he demandeth it not; and therefore, as I am to thank your ladyship for your willingness, so it shall not be needful but upon such an occasion as may be without your trouble, which the rather may be because I purpose, God willing, to come down, and it be but for a day, to visit your ladyship, and to do my duty to you. In the meantime I pray your health, as you have done the part of a good Christian and Saint of God in the comfortable preparing for your duty. So nevertheless, I pray, deny not your body the due, nor your children and friends, and the church of God, which hath use of you, but that you enter not into further conceit than is cause; and withal use all comforts and helps that are good for your health and strength. In truth I have heard Sir Thomas Scudamore often complain, after his quartain had ceased, that he found such a heaviness and swelling under his ribs that he thought he was buried under earth all from the waist; and therefore that accident no bad incident. Thus I commend your ladyship to God's good preservation from grief."

Your ladyship's most obedient son,

FR. BACON.

SIR JOHN FASTOLF AND THE BACON FAMILY

“On the first, as on every subsequent, production of ‘Henry IV’ the main public interest was concentrated neither on the King nor on his son, nor on Hotspur, but on the chief of Prince Hal’s riotous companions. At the outset the propriety of that great creation was questioned on a political or historical ground of doubtful relevance. Shakespeare in both parts of ‘Henry IV’ originally named the chief of the prince’s associates after Sir John Oldcastle, a character in the old play. But Henry Brooke, eighth lord Cobham, who succeeded to the title early in 1597, and claimed descent from the historical Sir John Oldcastle, the Lollard leader, raised objection; and when the first part of the play was printed by the acting-company’s authority in 1598 (‘newly corrected’ in 1599), Shakespeare bestowed on Prince Hal’s tunbelled follower the new and deathless name of Falstaff. A trustworthy edition of the second part of ‘Henry IV’ also appeared with Falstaff’s name substituted for that of Oldcastle in 1600. There the epilogue expressly denied that Falstaff had any characteristic in common with the martyr Oldcastle. “Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man. But the substitution of the name ‘Falstaff’ did not pass without protest. It hazily recalled Sir John Fastolf, an historical warrior who had already figured in ‘Henry VI’ and was owner at one time of the Boar’s Head Tavern in Southwark; according to traditional stage directions, the prince and his companions in ‘Henry IV’ frequent the Boar’s Head, Eastcheap.”

In Bevil Higgon’s *“A Short View of English History,”* 1748, he states that Sir John Fastolf, of Henry IV’s time had “been ridiculed and misrepresented by the pen of a certain poet for an original of buffoonery and cowardise for

¹Sidney Lee’s *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 169. Ed. 1898.

no other reason but that some of his posterity had dis-oblinded Mr. Shakespear."

I have shown in these pages that the Bacon family married with the Fastolfs, but nowhere have I found that they (the Fastolfs) were in any way connected with the Shakespeares. If, as I believe, Bacon was Shakespeare's patron, it may readily be conceived why the poet held Sir John Fastolf up to ridicule. I have tried to show that "*Oldcastle*" (the original appellation given to Fastolf in the play, in no way was meant by the poet as a slur upon the martyred Lollord, but that it was poking fun at the "old lad of the castle," as Prince Henry calls him. Halliwell Philips, in his "*Outlines*," says, "Fastolf was sometimes called Falstaff even in strictly historical works."

Henry Brooke, eighth lord Cobham, may have been joined by Secretary Robert Cecil in his objections to the name of Sir John Oldcastle being used. Cecil married Elizabeth Brooke, Lord Cobham's sister. And both Cecil and Lord Cobham hated the Earl of Essex, who so delighted in Shakespeare's plays. At any rate the poet substituted the name of Sir John Fastolf for that of Sir John Oldcastle. I am convinced Shakespeare never intended to cast a stain upon the Lollard leader, who only bore the title of Lord Cobham by courtesy of his wife. But why the name Falstaff should have raised a protest is another story. It seems to me that from the first Shakespeare, in his historical dramas Henry IV., Henry V. and Henry VI. did intend to gird at Sir John Fastolf, of Caister Castle, Norfolk. The poet who asks, "What's in a name?" and gives the world all we call Shakespeare, like a wizard, transposes a letter in the name of Fastolf, and the imperishable Falstaff is born to make perpetual mirth and laughter for all mankind. Shakespeare, who knew Holinshed and the ancient Eng-

lish Chronicles by heart, must also have known many interesting details of the personal characters of those men of note who fought or took part in the cruel civil wars of the Roses. The poet lived among those whose ancestors felt and suffered the burdens of those wars. I feel certain Shakespeare had access to many private letters and documents that were preserved in the families of men of affairs connected with England's great past, wherein he found acts and facts not mentioned in history.

The student must be familiar with the Paston Letters to thoroughly appreciate the character of Sir John Falstaff in Henry IV., Henry V. and Henry VI. The Falstaff of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* must not be confounded with the Sir John of the historical plays. Except in the name, there is no relation between them. Bacon's scholarly grandfather, Sir Anthony Cooke, no doubt preserved letters and documents greatly exceeding in number and value those in the Paston family, covering the same period. Sir Anthony Cooke's grandfather, Sir Thomas Cooke, knight of the Bath and Mayor of London, was a contemporary of Sir John Fastolf's. I have reason to think he and Fastolf were rivals on the high seas for foreign trade.

I am convinced Francis Bacon learned from family documents the true character of Sir John Fastolf. Not alone from his maternal ancestors, the Cooke's, but from the Bacon and Fastolf family records and letters, and that these original documents did not flatter him whom Prince Hal, afterwards Henry V., dubbed "My old lad of the Castle."²

Dawson Turner states Henry V. gave Sir John Fastolf

²I Hen. IV, A 1. S. 2.

license to fortify a dwelling in Caister, "so strong as himself could devise." It must be remembered Fastolf was nearly seventy years old when he began to build Caister Castle. He seems to have had a mania for castles all his life. Henry V. trusted him with the Castle of Veires in Gascony. In 1425 he took the Castle of Silly-Guillem. In 1408 he married Milicent, widow of Sir Stephen Scrope, who brought him Castle Crombe in Wiltshire and other large estates. "These he turned to his own account, to the injury of her son and heir by her first husband, Stephen Scrope."³

Francis Bacon's great-great-grandfather, Sir Thomas Cooke, like Fastolf, owned many ships upon the sea, Cooke having "fishing weirs on the Colne." We are told that Fastolf, to relieve the garrison at Orleans, successfully intercepted a convoy of fish, "and for purposes of defence used the barrels of herrings, whence the battle obtained its popular name, 'the Battle of the Herrings.'"⁴

Both Sir Thomas Cooke and Sir John Fastolf owned several taverns in London. Sir Thomas Cooke owned the Swan and Garland in Eastcheap, the Bear and Dolphin⁵ in St. Olave Street, and the Mary Magdalene in Southwark. While Sir John Fastolf owned the Boar's Head Tavern in Southwark, which Shakespeare in Henry IV. transfers to Eastcheap. In the poet's time a Boar's Head was near the Globe and owned by the old theatrical manager, Henslowe. Doubtless Shakespeare, Ben Jonson and many of their worthies often held merry meetings under its roof.

In 1450, when Sir John Fastolf was hiding in his mansion in Southwark from the rebel Jack Cade's fury, Sir

³D. N. B.

⁴D. N. B.

⁵The Hostess says to Falstaff: "Thou did'st swear to me upon a parcel-gilt goblet, sitting in my Dolphin chamber," 2 Hen. IV. II. I.

Thomas Cooke was acting as Jack Cade's agent in London, trying to bring order out of chaos, while King Henry VI. fled to Kenilworth.

Edward Poynings, Cooke's friend, was Cade's carver and sewer. He afterwards married the sister of John Paston.

But who protested against the name of Falstaff being used in the plays? I can think of no one but the Paston family or some one connected with them, to whom Sir John Fastolf willed all his vast estates, although they were not related to him by blood. It was believed, too, by many in those days that Sir John Fastolf's will had been forged, and that the Pastons had no right to his wealth. Francis Bacon's enemy, Attorney General Coke, had married Bridget Paston,¹ who brought him more than £30,000 in money and left him enormous estates besides. The boundless greed of Sir John Fastolf had bennefitted none but the Pastons. To his own kinsmen he left nothing. Oldys says the Fastolfs "were descended from an ancient and famous English family in Norfolk, which had flourished there before the conquest." The Bacon's were related to the Fastolf family. Thomas Fastolf, son and heir of John Fastolf of Pettau, County Suffolk, married Alice, daughter of John Bacon, Esq., of Hesselsett, County Suffolk. The said Thomas Fastolf and Alice, his wife, had issue—John, son and heir; Lionell, George, Thomas and five daughters.²

It is not likely these descendants of Sir John Fastolf protested against his being held up to scorn on the stage, or that the Bacon family had any reason to regret it. As I said before, no one but the Pastons or Coke would mind it. The Paston's also came into possession of Gresham Manor, which had belonged to one Ed-

¹*Fenn, Paston Letters*, 11, 158.

²*Visitation of Suffolk*, 1561-1612.

mund Bacon,³ in Edward II.'s time. Margery, daughter and heir of Edmund Bacon, married Sir William Moyleyns. Thomas Chaucer, son of the poet Chaucer, married the great-granddaughter of Edmund Bacon, and their daughter Alice became the wife of William de la Poole, Earl of Suffolk, afterwards created first Duke of Norfolk by Henry VI. for bringing Princess Margaret from France.

Both Shakespeare and Drayton make Suffolk the lover of Margaret⁴ before she came to England to become the Queen of Henry VI. It has been said Shakespeare in the following lines paid a compliment to the Earl of Essex:

“But now behold in the quick forge and working-house of thought
How London doth pour out her citizens,
The Mayor and all his brethren in best sort,
Like to the senators of antique Rome,
With the plebians swarming at their heels.
Go forth and fetch their conquering Cæsar in:
As, by a lower but loving likelihood,⁵
Were now the general of our gracious Empress
(As in good time he may) from Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
How many would the peaceful city quit,
To welcome him!”

Little did Shakespeare dream that Essex would one day put the city to that test wherein he found it wanting in sympathy, and by his rash act loose all he held dear upon earth. His enemies, Robert Cecil, Lord Cobham, the Earl of Oxford, and Sir Walter Raleigh, checkmated him at every move, so that he never regained the fickle favor of Elizabeth.

³Vol. I. p. 28. *Paston Letters* Ed. by Gairdner, Edinburgh, 1910.

⁴*I. Hen VI. A. v., s iv.*

⁵*Hen. V. A. V.*

In the same drama of Henry V., A. iv. S. vii., I think the poet paid the gallant Earl of Essex another compliment out of the mouth of Fluellen, the Welsh knight, whom King Henry accosts on the field after the battle of Agincourt:

K. Hen. I tell thee truly, herald,
I know not if the day be ours, or no;
For yet a many of your horsemen peer,
And gallop o'er the field.

Mont. The day is yours.

K. Hen. Praised be God, and not our strength,
for it!

What is this castle call'd, that stands hard by?

Mont. They call it Agincourt.

K. Hen. Then call we this the field of Agincourt,
Fought on the day of Crispin Crispianus.

Flu. Your grandfather of famous memory, an't please your majesty, and your great-uncle Edward the plack prince of Wales, as I have read in the chronicles, fought a most prave pattle here in France.

K. Hen. They did, Fluellen.

Flu. Your majesty says very true. If your majesty is remembered of it, the Welshmen did goot service in a garden where leeks did grow, wearing leeks in their Monmouth caps, which your majesty knows, to this hour is an honourable padge of the service; and, I do believe, your majestay takes no scorn to wear the leek upon Saint Tavy's day.

K. Henry. I wear it for a memorable honour:
For I am Welsh, you know, good countryman.

Flu. All the water in Wye cannot wash your majesty's Welsh plood out of your pody, I can tell you that: Got pless it, and preserve it, as long as it pleases his grace, and his majesty too!

The Earl of Essex descended from that noble and illustrious Walter Devereux, who was created Viscount of Hereford by Henry VI. His ancestors owned, among other large possessions in Wales, the splendid castle in Carmarthenshire. The love Essex bore to letters greatly endeared him to the poets of his day, and we are told he saved Spencer from starving and buried the poet in Westminster Abbey when neglected by all the great ones he had immortalized with his pen—even by the Queen herself.

In Henry V. the Welsh knight, Fluellen, has the utmost contempt for Sir John Falstaff. For the wrong the real Sir John Fastolf did his kinsman and ward, Thomas Fastolf, the reader is referred to the Paston Letters edited by Gairdner. Mr. Dawson Turner, who is very tender of the memory of Fastolf,⁶ says:

“Sir John, with Lord Talbot and Lord Scales, fled at the battle of Patay; and this circumstance appears to furnish the only actual point of similarity between the imaginary *Falstaff* of the dramatist and the real individual portrayed in history. Towards the conclusion of the first part of his *Henry the Sixth*, Shakespeare presents to the spectator that youthful monarch surrounded by his nobles, receiving the homage of the governor of Paris; while Falstaff presses forward, hot with haste, eager to tender his allegiance. The Lord Talbot, between whom and the knight there seems to have been a rivalry, not unmingled with personal animosity, and who was probably not sorry for the opportunity publicly to fix upon his name the disgrace of the defeat at Patay, bursts on this occasion into the following bitter taunts, which even the presence of the sovereign had not the power to restrain.”

“Shame on the Duke of Burgundy and thee!

⁶*Sketch of the History of Calster Castle*, p. 28. Lond. 1862.

"I vow'd, base knight, when I did meet thee next,
 "To tear the garter from thy craven leg (*plucking it off*)
 "Which I have done, because unworthily
 "Thou wast installed in that high degree:—
 "Pardon me, princely Henry, and the rest,
 "This dastard, at the battle of Patay,
 "When but in all I was six thousand strong,
 "And that the French were almost ten to one,—
 "Before we met, or that a stroke was given,
 "Like to a trusty squire, did run away;
 "In which assault we lost twelve hundred men:
 "Myself, with divers gentlemen beside,
 "Were there surprised and taken prisoners.
 "Then, judge, great lords, if I have done amiss;
 "Or whether that such cowards ought to wear
 "This ornament of knighthood,—yea, or no.

"K. Hen. Stain to thy countrymen! thou hear'st
 thy doom!

"Be packing, therefore, thou that wast a knight:
 "Henceforth we banish thee on pain of death."
 (*Exit Falstaff.*)

Mr. Turner continues:

"It appears to be upon the authority of Monstrelet alone that Shakespeare relies for the supposed fact of Sir John Fastolfe's having been stripped of the Garter. So foul a stain upon his character, it may safely be said, had no existence, excepting in the pages of the chronicler, supported perhaps by the rumours of those who had felt the weight of his arm. Anstis, the historian of the order, who searched the records for the express purpose, assures his readers there is no entry of Fastolfe's name in the *Black Book*, which commemorates similar degradations; and, what is still more conclusive, regular mention is made of his attendance at the Feasts of St. George and the Chapters of the Order till the period of his decease."⁷

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 29.

Again Mr. Turner:

"It were injustice not to quote, by way of illustrating the feeling that existed even in the Elizabethan age, the glowing sentences with which old Fuller sums up his account of him: 'To avouch him' (says the generous biographer) 'by many arguments valiant, is to maintain that the sun is bright; though the stage hath been over-bold with his memory, making him a *Thrasonical Puff* and emblem of *Mock valour*. True it is, Sir John Oldcastle did first bear the brunt of the one, being made the make-sport in all plays for a coward. It is easily known out of what purse this black penny came; the papists railing on him for a heretic, and therefore he must also be a coward; though indeed he was a man of arms, every inch of him, and as valiant as any of his age. Now, as I am glad that Sir John Oldcastle is *put out*, so I am sorry that Sir John Fastolfe is *put in*. Nor is our comedian excusable by some alteration of his name, writing him *Sir John Falstafe* (and making him the property of pleasure for King Henry the Fifth to abuse), seeing the vicinity of sounds entrench on the memory of that worthy knight of their name.' ³³⁸

Honest Fuller had not read the Paston Letters nor had he, like the poet, entered into the "heart of elder" of Sir John Fastolf. Time sustains Shakespeare's verdict.

Of Thomas Fastolf, the unlucky ward of Sir John, Dawson Turner writes:

"At the same advanced period of his life, but still evidently broken by years, Sir John presses his correspondent to assist him in obtaining the wardship of a minor. This was commonly an object with men of consequence in those days; for not only did it throw power into their hands, by

³³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 34.

placing the management of estates under their control, but it likewise gave them the authority to dispose of their wards in marriage, to whom and on what terms they thought proper. The letter in which the request is urged presents a curious illustration, both of the times and of the writer's personal character: it exhibits the steadiness with which he kept his object in view, and the address he employed in the pursuit of it. John Paston is entreated to induce the sheriff to assist in forwarding the matter, and is himself urged to 'take it tenderly to heart.' The more effectually to quicken his zeal, a hint is thrown out that a marriage should in due time take place between the intended ward and some one of Paston's daughters. The proposed match, which indeed never was carried into effect, is said, in this instance, to have been altogether a suitable one; but it is plain that the inclination of the parties would not have been consulted, nor, in cases of that nature, was it customary to allow it to enter the least into consideration. The young man, whose future fate formed the subject of the correspondence, is discovered by the endorsement of the letter to have been 'Thomas Fastolfe',⁹ son and heir of Nicholas Fastolfe, of Ipswich, and cousin to the knight."

"He was at that time about ten years old; as appears from a subsequent letter written by his mother,¹⁰ in which she complains that his guardians endeavoured to represent her son as younger than he actually was, in order the longer to retain possession of his estate. Four years, at the utmost, comprehend the time during which he remained under Sir John Fastolfe's guardianship; but he did really become a member of his household, as is made evident by the mention of 'Thomas Fastolfe, is chamboure,' in the inventory of the

⁹*He was son and heir of John Fastolf of Cowhawe. Paston Letters, Vols. I, II, III, and Introduction Gairdner Ed. 1910.*

¹⁰*Paston Letters, Vol. II, p. 63.*

furniture and effects left at Caister upon the knight's decease. From the same document it also appears that Sir John did not spoil his little kinsman and ward by over-indulgence in luxuries: 'j fedderbed, j bolster, j payre of schetys, jj blanketis, j rede coverlet, j coverying of worstet, and j testour,' are the only articles enumerated in the catalogue of the contents of his apartment. But then, as if by way of compensation, and perhaps to keep alive his pride of ancestry, it is expressly said that the 'arms of Fastolfe, embroidered on rede say,' are placed at the 'seloure,' or head of his bed."¹¹

The present Rector of Caister, Great Yarmouth, in an admirable essay¹² on Sir John Fastolf, sums up twelve points of resemblance between the true knight and Falstaff. We give one:

"Language has been strained to its utmost to express Falstaff's grossness of body. . . . Now in the matter of this amplitude of form there appears to be curious corroboration of identity between the false knight and the true. Not only does a tradition still linger on in Caister of the brawn of the first lord of its castle, but an old print in the Free Library of Great Yarmouth tends to confirm it."

Of the jewels, gold and silver, money and plate, wardrobe and furniture which belonged to Fastolf at the time of his death, see the Inventory.¹³ Its editor, Mr. Arnot, says: "I cannot conclude this summary without advertising to what may appear a remarkable omission. I allude to the absence of books of every description."

William of Worcester, the scholarly secretary of Sir John Fastolf, hungered after knowledge and was in Lon-

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

¹²"*The Case of Sir John Falstof.*" By David Wallace Duthie. Lond. 1907.

¹³*Archæologie* *xxxi*, pp. 232-280.

don when Henry Windsor, his friend, wrote this to Sir John Paston in 1458:

“I may sey to you that William hath goon to scole, to a Lumbard called Karoll Giles, to lern and to be red in poetre or els in Frensh; for he hath byn with the same Caroll every dey ij. times or iij., and hath bought divers boks of hym, for the which, as I suppose he hath put hymself in daunger to the same Karoll. I made a mocion to William to have knoen part of his besines, and he answered and seid that he wold be as glad and as feyn of a good boke of Frensh or of poetre as my Master Fastolf wold be to purchace a faire manoir; and therby I understand he list not to be commynd with all in such matiers.”

To this learned gentleman, Sir John Fastolf paid a salary of five shillings a year! A manuscript in the British Museum, supposed to be written by William Wyrcestre in praise of Millicent, wife of Sir John Fastolf, ends thus: “John Fastolf which was a valiant Knyght and sharp in bateylle Iff it were ryght that anythin should ascend unto the high Celestiall place for his own desert and merytt, doubtless it should be this generation.”¹⁴

We agree with him, for Time has taken the lustre from the worldly Sir John Fastolf and left:

“None so poor to do him reverence.”

After enumerating Fastolf's belongings, Dawson Turner concludes:

“Such, in lands and goods, were the possessions with which John Paston, eldest son of Sir William, found himself on a sudden enriched. Still, between the stretching out of a hand to grasp them, and the actually having of them in firm hold, the new heir was soon made conscious there was a

¹⁴*Hist. Castle Combe by G. Poulet Scrope. 1852.*

wide difference. Within one week after Sir John Fastolfe's death, and well nigh before his body was committed to the tomb, it appears that formidable pretenders to the property had already arisen."¹⁵

Mr. Poulet Scrope observes: "Certainly no blood relationship seems to have existed between them."¹⁶

Hoping the reader will not be too much cloyed with the real Fastolf, I venture to say not one of his followers—not even John Paston, his heir,—would have paid to his memory that pathetic tribute which, after the death of his master Falstaff, Bardolph utters when he says:

"Would I were with him, wheresome'er he is, either in heaven or in hell."

In *II Henry IV.*, 2, 1, where the hostess of the Dolphin Inn has Sir John Falstaff arrested for debt, the reader will see the Lord Chief Justice shows little respect to Sir John:

Enter the Lord Chief Justice, attended.

Ch. Just. What is the matter? keep the peace here, ho!

Host. Good my lord, be good to me! I beseech you, stand to me!

Ch. Just. How now, Sir John! what, are you brawling here?

Doth this become your place, your time, and business?

You should have been well on your way to York.—Stand from him, fellow: wherefore hang'st on him?

Host. O! my most worshipful lord, an't please your grace, I am a poor widow of Eastcheap, and he is arrested at my suit.

Ch. Just. For what sum?

Host. It is more than for some, my lord; it is for all, all I have. He hath eaten me out of house and home. . . .

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁶*Hist. of Castle Combe*, p. 185.

Ch. Just. How comes this, Sir John?—Fie! what man of good temper would endure this tempest of exclamation?—Are you not ashamed to enforce a poor widow to so rough a course to come by her own?

Fal. What is the gross sum that I owe thee?

Host. Marry, if thou wert an honest man, thyself, and the money too. Thou didst swear to me upon a parcel-gilt goblet, sitting in my Dolphin-chamber, at the round table, by a sea-coal fire, upon Wednesday in Whitsun week, when the prince broke thy head . . .

Fal. My lord, this is a poor mad soul; . . .

Ch. Just. Sir John, Sir John, I am well acquainted with your manner of wrenching the true cause the false way. It is not a confident brow, nor the throng of words that come with such more than impudent sauciness from you, can thrust me from a level consideration; you have, as it appears to me, practised upon the easy-yielding spirit of this woman, and made her serve your uses . . .

Host. Yes, in troth, my lord.

Ch. Just. Pr'ythee, peace.—Pay her the debt you owe her, and unpay the villainy you have done with her: the one you may do with sterling money, and the other with current repentance.

Fal. My lord, I will not undergo this sneap without reply. You call honourable boldness, impudent sauciness; if a man will make court'sy, and say nothing, he is virtuous. No, my lord, my humble duty remember'd, I will not be your suitor: I say to you, I do desire deliverance from these officers, being upon hasty employment in the king's affairs.

Ch. Just. You speak as having power to do wrong; but answer in the effect of your reputation, and satisfy the poor woman.

In his dealings with widows and orphans the real Fa-

tolf had no scruples of conscience. Those acquainted with his treatment of the widowed mother of his cousin and ward, Thomas Fastolfe, discern this trait; and his unkind usage of Stephen Scrope,¹⁷ his stepson, whom he kept out of his inheritance for fifty years shows his duplicity. In *A Short View of English History*, 1723, the author, Bevil Higgons, says Sir John Fastolf had "been ridiculed and misrepresented by the pen of a certain poet . . . for no other reason but that some of his posterity had disoblged Mr. Shakespeare." It would be gratifying to learn where Higgons got his tradition.

Arthur Dandy, the Steward of Gray's Inn, who acted the Bishop of St. Giles in the Fields in the *Gesta Grayorum* was related to the Bacons through the Falstaff's. The Poet, Francis Quarles, descended from these families. I find in the *Visitation of Essex*, 1612, p. 273, Edmund Quarles of Norwich in Com Norfolk Gentleman, married Mary, daughter of Thomas Daundie of Crettingham in Com Suffolk, Esq., by his wife, daughter of Fastolphe of Pettow, Esq. Shakespeare in 2 Hen., VI, iv, says:

"Leave me at the White Hart in Southwork."²

In the *Gesta Grayorum* Arthur Dandy³ personated "the Bishop of St. Giles in the Fields," and in the *Pension Book* are the following interesting items concerning him and a White Hart Inn:

¹Jack Cade, the rebel, lodged here, when Sir John Fastolf took refuge in the Tower, to escape the rabble.

²This gentleman's father married Anne Fastolfe, daughter of John Fastolfe of Pettaw Co., Suffolk. Her brother, Thomas Fastolf, married Francis Bacon's kinswoman, Alice Bacon.

³This gentleman's father, Sir Stephen Scrope, bequeathed to his "dearest son and heir, Stephen, two silver basins with two silver waterstoups, twelve silver dishes, one gilt cup with a cover, two silver cups with covers, a set of hangings and a bed embroidered with poplers, with all its furniture, a service of table linen, &c., and a long sword formerly belonging to King Edward (the Third), and bequeathed to him by his father." It does not appear that Stephen Scrope ever recovered possession of these heir-looms. They no doubt went to swell the prodigious mass of valuables that were accumulated by Fastolf, and found on his decease in his town and country houses, of which Mr. Amyot has printed the inventory in the *Archæologia*, Vol. xxi."

1583 Mr. Arthur Dandy to be paid three pounds in lieu of fourteen years arrearage of rent for the acre of land in Bernerd's Close by such as have occupied the said acre; and from henceforth Bernerd's tenant is to pay fifteen shillings a year during the life of Mr. Dandy, whereof five shillings yearly is to be paid to the House. Mr. Dandy to have the piece of ground inclosed with the mud wall behind the White Hart at a rent of xx^d per annum, and he is to be paid the arrears of rent for the last twenty-eight years. p. 57.

1597 PENSION 25th April, 39 Eliz: Present:—BRO-GRAVE, HESKETH, ANGER, BACON, STANHOPE, HALES, POOLEY, FULLER, PELHAM, LANY, NIGHTINGALE, BARKER, PEPPER and BRACKEN.

“The cōpye of a leas shewed forth by Mr. Medcalf by wch he pretendeth title to an Acre of Ground opposite to ye Whight Hart.

Mr. Fletcher notes: “In Bentley's Book . . . it is recorded that the light-wardens of St. Andrew's received yearly a rent of five shillings for an acre of ground behind the White Hart, called the Church acre, in and before the 20th year of Edward IV.”

And at Pension 4th, Nov: 28 Eliza: 1586, it was:

“Ordered that Arthur Dandy shall yerelie have during his lyff five marks for a gowne & a lyverie of the howsse in respect of his ancyent service when he was Steward of the House and of his alliance to the Lord Keeper that dead is.”⁴

* The Lord Keeper was Francis Bacon's father.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 74.

YOU WOULD PLUCK OUT THE HEART OF MY MYSTERY

That there was an earlier play of *Hamlet*, than Shakespeare's remains an open question. Collier, the forger of so many Shakespeare "facts," harped much upon an *older* play of *Hamlet*. Thomas Nashe was the first to mention *Hamlet* in a preface to Greene's "*Menaphon*" in 1589 as follows:

"It is a common practise now a daies, amongst a sort of shifting companions, that runne through euery art and thriue by none to leaue the trade of *Nouerint*, whereto they were borne, and busie themselves with the indeuors of art, that could scarcelie latinise their neck-verse if they should haue neede; yet English Seneca read by candle-light yeeldes manie good sentences as '*bloud is a begger*' and so forth: and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, he will affoord you whole *Hamlets*, I should say handfulls of tragical speeches. But o grieffe! *tempus edax rerum*; what's that will last alwaies? The sea exhaled by droppes will in continuance be drie, and Seneca let bloud line by line, and page by page, at length must needes die to our stage."

Nashe in this tirade aims at more than one man, for his *Epistle* is written in a plural sense.

When these lines were penned, Francis Bacon was a struggling young lawyer at Gray's Inn. (1589.) It may be said that Bacon was born to the law, as his father was a great lawyer before him. At any rate if my theory is worth while, young Francis Bacon could have aided Shakespeare in the use of the legal terms we find so plentifully sprinkled through *Hamlet*, and as Nashe gibed at more than one, his lines: 'could scarcelie latinise their neck-verse if they should haue neede; reminds us of Ben Jonson's 'small

latin,' and might be applied to the youth who only two years before arrived in London from Stratford. That Nashe referred to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and none other, I firmly believe. Take his: 'bloud is a begger' and compare it with the noble *Hamlet's*:

"Begger that I am, I am even poor in thanks."

Nashe continues.

"And if you intreat him faire in a frosty morning, he will afforde you whole Hamlets, I should say handfulls of tragicall speeches."

Intreat whom fair? And why on a frosty morning? Did Nashe refer to the character of the Sentinal *Francisco*, who only appears once in the play of *Hamlet*, and speaks but fifty-five words?

I have reason to think so, for it is he who says:

' ' ' "'Tis bitter cold, and I am sick at heart."

Pathetic words, which seem to prepare the hearers for a tragic ending as the reader may judge:

ACT I.

SCENE I.—Elsinore. *A Platform before the Castle.*

FRANCISCO *on his Post. Enter to him* BERNARDO.

Bernardo.

WHO'S there?

Fran. Nay, answer me: stand, and unfold Yourself.

Ber. Long live the king!

Fran. Bernardo?

Ber. He.

Fran. You come most carefully upon your hour.

Ber. 'Tis now struck twelve; get thee to bed, Francisco.

Fran. For this relief, much thanks: 'tis bitter cold, And I am sick at heart.

Ber. Have you had quiet guard?

Fran. Not a mouse stirring.

Ber. Well, good night.
If you do meet Horatio and Marcellus,
The rivals of my watch, bid them make haste.

Enter HORATIO and MARCELLUS.

Fran. I think, I hear them.—Stand, ho! Who is there?

Hor. Friends to this ground.

Mar. And liegemen to the Dane.

Fran. Give you good night.

Mar. O, farewell, honest soldier:
Who hath reliev'd you?

Fran. Bernardo hath my place.

Give you good night. *[Exit FRANCISCO.]*

Francisco does not appear again, but it is likely his: 'Tis bitter cold' gave Nashe his '*frosty* morning.' The word *frost* is not mentioned in the play.

In Act I, scene 4, *Hamlet* says:

'The air bites shrewdly, 'it is very cold' and
Horatio replies:

'It is a nipping and an eager air.'

It seems to me Nashe who was very sensitive to climatic influences, could not forget the impression the first act of *Hamlet* made upon him. He died of consumption and was always delicate I imagine. His preface to '*Menaphon*' was his first publication. It seems to me a strange coincidence that Greene should have dedicated '*Meñaphon*' to a Lady Hales—because the grave-yard scene in *Hamlet* has long been regarded as a parody on the case of the suicide of Sir James Hales, an honorable Judge of Common Pleas and a member of Gray's Inn. This celebrated case *Hales v. Petit* (Plowden p. 253) must have created much tragic-mirth among the lawyers of Gray's Inn.

Lord Chief Justice Dyer (related to the Bacon's by

marriage) helped to conduct the case. One of the things the Court said was:

“Sir James Hales was dead, and how came he to his death? It may be answered by drowning—and who drowned him? Sir James Hales—and when did he drown him? In his life time. So that Sir James Hales being alive caused Sir James Hales to die! and the act of the living man was the death of the dead man, and then for this offence it is reasonable to punish the living man who committed the offence and not the dead man. But how can he be said to be punished alive when the punishment comes after death.”

This case from Plowdon was written in old Norman law French, and Malone tells us it was not translated into English during Shakespeare's life. Francis Bacon, a legal light at that time, was familiar with this work of Plowdon's, and could have aided the Dramatist, who saw in it comedy enough for the following scene:

Act 5, SCENE I.

1ST GRAVE D.—Is she to be buried in Christian burial that wilfully seeks her own salvation?

2D GRAVE D.—I tell thee she is; therefore make her grave straight; the crowner hath set on her, and finds it christian burial.

1ST GRAVE D.—How can that be, unless she drowned herself in her own defense?

2D GRAVE D.—Why, 'tis found so.

1ST GRAVE D.—It must be *se offendendo*, it cannot be else. For here lies the point: if I drown myself wittingly, it argues an act; and an act hath three branches; it is, to act, to do, to perform. Argal, she drowned herself wittingly.

2D GRAVE D.—Nay, but hear you, goodman deliver.

1ST GRAVE D.—Give me leave. Here lies the water; good; here stands the man; good. If the man go to this water, and drown himself, it is, will he, nil he, he goes; mark you that: but, if the water comes to him, and drown him, he drowns not himself. Argal, he that is not guilty of his own death, shortens not his own life.

2D GRAVE D.—But is this law?

1ST GRAVE D.—Ay, marry is't, crowner's 'quest law.

2D GRAVE D.—Will you ha' the truth on't? If this had not been a gentlewoman, she should have been buried out of christian burial.

It is difficult to believe that *Hamlet*, the most extraordinary, if not the greatest creation of Shakespeare, could have been written by a youth but two years from his native Stratford. Scholars cannot marry this youth to the *Hamlet* of 1589, and have conjured up an *Ur-Hamlet* it seems to me, to account for the allusions of Nashe, and Lodge.

Sir Sidney Lee in his 'Life of Shakespeare' (Ed. 1916, p. 354), says: . . . "Tom Nashe credited a writer whom he called 'English Seneca' with the capacity of penning 'whole *Hamlets*,' I should say handfuls of tragical speeches.' "

Is not this interpretation misconstrued? Did not Nashe have in mind when he wrote: 'English Seneca read by candle light' a translation of Seneca, rather than an individual? This would carry out Nashe's former implication that one of the men he gibed at 'could scarcely latinise [his] neck-verse if [he] should have need' i. e. that he was not capable of reading Seneca in the original.

Thomas Powell in his 'Attorney's Academy' calls Francis, Lord Verulem, and Viscount St. Albans: 'Good Seneca.'

A Thomas Powell printed for George Bucke, Jasper Heywood's translation of Senecas 'The Sixth Tragedie' which was dedicated to the Queen. Heywood also dedicated some

of his Seneca translations to Sir Thomas Henneage, Bacon's good friend.

In his translation of *'Thyestes'* Jasper Heywood added a scene to the fifth act. "wherein the hero, in a soliloquy, laments his own misfortunes, and calls for judgment and vengeance on Atreus." Hecuba is portrayed in the first act, and there is a ghost in the tragedy.

I am inclined to believe Nashe was thinking of this very play when he referred to 'English Seneca.'

It was said on the title page of the first Quarto *Hamlet*, 1603, that it was acted "in the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford." It will be observed that Nashe dedicates his *Epistle before 'Menaphon'* "to the gentlemen Students of both Universities." If they had seen the play they could better appreciate Nashe's satire.

Did not the many legal terms in *Hamlet* lead Nashe to infer that the author was leaving the "trade of Norverint" to "busy" himself "with the endeavors of art"? *Hamlet's* renowned speech over the supposed lawyers skull, may have moved Nashe to this criticism.

Ham. There's another: why may not that be the skull of a lawyer? Where be his quiddits now, his quillets, his cases, his tenures, and his tricks? why does he suffer this rude knave now to knock him about the sconce with a dirty shovel, and will not tell him of his action of battery? Humph! This fellow might be in 's time a great buyer of land, with his statutes, his recognizances, his fines, his double vouchers, his recoveries: is this the fine of his fines, and the recovery of his recoveries, to have his fine pate full of fine dirt? will his vouchers vouch him no more of his purchases, and double ones too, than the length and breadth of a pair of indentures? The very conveyances of his lands will hardly lie in this box, and must the inheritor himself have no more? ha?

Hor. Not a jot more, my lord.

Ham. Is not parchment made of sheep-skins?

Hor. Ay, my lord, and of calf-skins too.

In Nashe's Works, Ed. by McKerron, Vol. 1 p. 342, Nash again refers to a Noverint, whom he dubbs an "unskillful pen-man."

After Bacon's friends, the Carey's and Bishop Whitgift, befriended him, Nashe seems to have regretted some things he had written and says: "For neither was I Greenes companion only more than for a carouse or two," and as he recalls the trouble 'The Isle of Dog's' put him to, he says:

"A man may not talk of a dog, but it is surmised he aims at him that giveth the dog in his crest."

'The Isle of Dogs' is mentioned in the Northumberland Ms. as well as Thomas Nashe's name.

Of an earlier *Hamlet* than Shakespeare's, Charles Knight said:

"They have taken conjecture for proof, not a title of distinct evidence exists to show that there was any other play of *Hamlet* but that of Shakespeare and all the collateral evidence upon which it is inferred that an earlier play of *Hamlet* than Shakespeare's did exist, may, on the other hand be taken to prove that Shakespeare's original sketch of *Hamlet* was in repute at an earlier period than is commonly assigned as its date." It vexed Knight who tells us Collier constantly spoke of and harped upon the "old" *Hamlet*.

Malone said:

"If Shakespeare meant to allude to the case of Dame Hales, (which indeed seems not improbable,) he must have heard of that case in conversation; for it was determined before he was born, and Plowden's Commentaries, in which it is reported were not translated into English till a few years ago. Our

author's study was probably not much encumbered with old French Reports."

Another stumbling block may be found in *Hamlet's* instructions to the players. How could a youth so fresh from his native town direct authoritively the Actor's in speech and gesture, conveying the art of using their English:

"As I pronounced it to you trippingly on the tongue?"

Henry VIII. once asked a foreign physician who had lived in England many years, why he did not speak English better? The answer was: "Sire, what can you expect from one who has only lived here thirty years?" "The learned pupil of Buchannon, who misruled two Kingdoms "mouthed" his English in a broad Scotch accent, and yet he must have been taught English from his childhood.

Orl. Where dwell you, pretty youth?

Ros. With this shepherdess, my sister; here in the skirts of the forest, like fringe upon a petticoat.

Orl. Are you native of this place?

Ros. As the coney, that you see dwell where she is kindled.

Orl. Your accent is something finer than you could purchase in so removed a dwelling.

Ros. I have been told so of many: but, indeed, an old religious uncle of mine taught me to speak, who was in his youth an inland man; one that knew courtship too well, for there he fell in love. I have heard him read many lectures against it; and I thank God, I am not a woman, to be touched with so many giddy offences, as he hath generally taxed their whole sex withal.

Inland (Saxon Law Term), that inner Land, or part of a Manor which lay next or most convenient for the Lord's Mansion-House, for the Maintenance

of his Family, &c. and opposed to the *Utland*, or Outland, which was to let out to Tenants.”—Phillips.

John Davies of Hereford, for fear of offending, is careful to say in the very beginning that he sings the following lines “in sport.” Perhaps the great lord Burleigh and his son, Robert Cecil, were displeased at the portrayal of “Kings and Counsellors,” and as the *Comedy of Errors* was a part of the Sports, it may have moved Davies to pen these lines:

To our Englifh Terence, Mr. Will.
Shake-fpeare.

Some fay (good *Will*) which I in fport, do fing,
Had’ft thou not plaid fome Kingly parts in fport,
Thou hadft bin a companion for a *King*;
And, beene a King among the meaner fort.
Some others raile; but, raile as they thinke fit,
Thou haft no rayling, but, a rainging Wit:
*And honefty thou fow’ ft, which they do reape,
So, to increafe their Stocke which they do keepe.*

Davies must have referred to the principal capital or stock of a company when he says Shake-speare sow’d “to increase their Stocke which they do keepe.”

The lines are puzzling, for we know Shakespeare shared in the profits of the Lord Chamberlains servants, and that he “trafficked with the stage.”

It is well known that Francis Bacon, by some act unknown to us, displeased the Cecils, who never forgave him, and gave his mother many anxious hours. Bacon’s words:

“I have tuned the harp of the muses
That others may play”

leads me to think Shakespeare could not have found in London a more tender defender than Francis Bacon. For we must bear in mind the actors that played at Gray’s

Inn that Christmas were called "base and common fellows" and it is most true that Bacon's mother looked upon these men as:

"A crew of patches, rude mechanics, that work for bread."

The reader will better understand Lady Bacon's feeling if I quote from Sir John Ferne's "*The Blazon of Gentry*," printed in 1586, one year before Shakespeare's arrival in London. Ferne studied law in the Inner Temple and was well known to the Bacon's. It was not only the Actor who was despised but to write plays for the public was a disgrace. A nobleman or a gentleman might write a masque for the Court, or for his University, as so many of them did; but to pen plays for the multitude—to be "clapper clawed by the vulgar"—was ignominious and base. The student must forget the present and transport his thoughts to the age of Shakespeare if he would realize the status of the Theatre Poet. Sir John Ferne gives us to understand that no man in his day was termed "gentle" or a "gentleman" unless he bore a coat of arms. He describes the seven liberal Artes, and then delineates the seven Mechanical Sciences, saying: "Mechanical sciences, with their professors were debarred the preheminance of Gentry." Then adds: "And of these Mechanical Artes (that have retayned the title of necessary, honest, and laudable) the number of them is but seven." And he puts the skill of the actor and the writer of plays at the end of his list, thus:

"The seventh and last Mechanical Arte, is called *Theatrica*, that is to say, the arte and skill of Playes practised in Theatres, and exposed to the spectacle of multitudes. . . . If they be played for the cause of gaine, to move laughter and sport to the people, such playes be reprobate, and not only worthy of dispraise, but rather to be accounted infamous," pp. 74-76. That the stage did stain pure gentle blood we are told by John Davies of Here-

ford in his *Microcosmos*, 1603, where he again points to Shakespeare:

Players, I love yee, and your *Qualitie*,

c W. S. R. B.

d Simonides
saith, that painting
is a dumb
Posey, & Poesy
a speaking
painting.

As ye are Men, *that* pass time not abus'd:

And some I love for *painting*, *poesie*,

And fay fell *Fortune* cannot be excus'd,

That hath for better *ufes* you refus'd:

Wit, *Courage*, *good shape*, *good partes*, and all *good*,

Roscus was
said for his ex-
cellency in his
quality, to be
only worthe
to come on
the stage, and
for his home-
sty to be more
worthy then to
come thereon.

As long as al thefe *goods* are no *worfe* us'd,

And though the *stage* doth staine pure gentle *bloud*,

Yet generous yee are in *minde* and *moode*.

In Chamberlain's letters are found allusions to Bacon's friends and relations.

On the 11th June, 1597, he shows how Bacon's *Alter Ego*, Tobie Mathew, desired to follow Dudley Carleton into France:

"Went to Askot, where I met with your brother Carleton (comming from the buriall of your uncle Goodwin), who told me Tobie Mathew had shewed him a letter from you wherein you complained much of want, and what narrow straights you were like to be driven to, marvailing you had toucht no such matter in your letters to him, and therewithall began to dilate to me what he had don and could do for you, but the conclusion was that his abilitie is not to supplie all wants, and therefore you must trust to yourself and make your owne fortune. I replied litle to it but only in general termes, the rather because I hope it is but a borrowed complaint to distast younge Mathew from following you into Fraunce then for any true cause.

In a letter dated 17th May, 1598, he says:

"All that I heare of Tobie Mathew is, that he staide in Fraunce with younge Throgmorton, that fell sicke of the small pockes."

In Oct., 1601, he writes: "Tobie Mathew is newly come to towne with his lord father and mother," and again on the 8th of May, 1602, "Your friend Tobie Mathew is newly recovered from a long and shrewd fit of his old infirmity."

On Dec. 20th, 1598, he writes to Carleton:

"You see how confidently I write to you of all things, but I hope you kepe it to yourself, and then there is no daunger, and I am so used to a libertie and fredome of speach when I converse or write to my friends that I cannot easilie leave it. Your brother and sister Williams marvaile they heare not from you. I have had much ado to excuse myself this Christmas from Knebworth and Askot, but specially from Knebworth, the rather because Wat Cope and his wife, Hugh Beeston, and Mr. Evers, go thether; but upon some occasions I am growne so privat that I stirre not abroad, nor mean to do, but to live at home like a snaile in the shell. And so, wishing you a goode new yeare and many, I end.

This letter may have been written from Dr. Gilbert's house. We judge from its contents that Chamberlain disliked both Walter Cope and Hugh Beeston.

On July 1st, 1600, he writes:

"I have not seen Watt Cope since I received your letter, and therefore know nothing more of the commission. I presume you shall find him indifferent, for I remember that, upon a word cast out by myself at the first mention of it, he protested that no respect shold carie him beyond his conscience."

Cope's master, Cecil, was always protesting about his conscience.

On 4th Dec., 1602, he writes:

“Mr. Cope is very hot and earnest for his papers. I would you could tell how to ‘stop his mouth.’”

The following, dated Dec. 23rd, 1602, brings Cope and his master Cecil together:

“I have pacified Wat Cope in shewing him what you write touching his papers. Mr. Secretarie did him a very extraordinarie favor to admit him a partner in his entertainment to the Quene, and to permit him to present her with some toyes in his house, for the which he had many faire wordes, but as yet cannot get into the private chamber, though he expect it daily. You like the Lord Kepers devises so ill, that I cared not to get Mr. Secretaries that were not much better, saving a pretty dialogue of John Davies, twixt a maide, a widow, and a wife, which I do not thincke but Mr. Saunders hath seen, and no doubt will come out one of these dayes in print with the rest of his works. The Lord Admiralls feasting the Quene had nothing extraordinarie, neither were his presents so precious as was expected; being only a whole suit of apparell, whereas it was thought he would have bestowed his rich hangings of all the fights with the Spanish Armada in eightie-eight. These feastings have had their effect to stay the Court here this Christmas, though most of the cariages were well onward on their way to Richmond.

On Feb. 11th, 1602-3, he reminds Carleton: “You still forget Mr. Cope, whom I could wish you had at this time remembered.”

The old Queen was nearing her end, and it was well to be near Cecil, who now looked toward the rising Sun.

GOODE MR. CARLETON:

Now I have dispatcht the ordinarie occurrents, it will not be amisse to informe you of some privat matters apart, which course you may hold with me (if you please) in whatsoever you would have kept close or reserved; for both you and I have so many goode frends here in common, that, if they heare of any post or packet, they thincke themselves wronged if they see not the originall, whereof I assure you I am not so liberall, but that they see it comes *invita Minerva*, and not at first call. Upon my first coming to towne, Mr. Cope inquired when I heard from you, and told me of two papers he had delivered you of the genealogies and matches of the great houses of France, which he desired you to continue and draw out till this time. I gave no great eare to him then; but, upon a second and third sommons, I told him what other imployments and business withheld you, that you could not attend such trinckets; his aunswer was that you might get some expert Frenchman to do it for you according to those copies, or at-leastwise send him backe his owne papers which he had out of his old lords memorialls. Though I hold him neither apt nor greatly able to do any frend he hath goode, yet must we sometimes hold a candle before the devill, and do as the people of Calicut, that worship him, not so much for any help they looke for at his hands, as because he shold do them no harme. I use him somewhat after that kinde; and, though for some inward respects I maligne him as much as any old frend he hath, yet I com-
plie thus far with him as to serve his humor now and then when it comes upon me. As this other day, expostulating with me why I did not present Mr. Secretarie with some toyes to kepe me in his remembrance, I delivered him some of those pictures and verses you sent me in your hand which I presume

Mr. Secretarie knowes, at leastwise I told Wat Cope I had them from you, and he sayes Mr. Secretarie chose the last picture and the last verses you sent, so that, if it do me no goode, it can do you no harme. If you did not know me so well as you do, me thinckes you might guesse I aime at somewhat, but I vowe and sweare unto you by our love and friendship (which is a sound oth) that I am past all ambition, and wish nor seeke nothing but how to live *suaviter* and in plentie. To which end and to your own goode, if you sometimes furnish me with such toyes as you thincke fit, it will not be amiss.”—October 2, 1602.

The following letter to Bacon’s cousin is said to be from Sir Walter Cope, 1604.

“SIR:

“I have sent and bene all thys morning huntynge for players Juglers & Such kinde of Creaturs, but fynde them harde to finde, wherfore Leavinge notes for them to seeke me, burbage ys come, & Sayes ther ys no new playe that the quene hath not seene, but they have Revyved an olde one, Cawled *Loves Labore lost*, which for wytt & mirthe he sayes will please her excedingly. And Thys ys apointed to be playd to Morowe night at my Lord of Southamptons, unless yow send a wrytt to Remove the Corpus Cum Causa to your howse in strande. Burbage ys my messenger Ready attendyng your pleasure.

“Yours most humbly,

“WALTER COPE.”

Letter dated “From your Library,” written by Sir Walter Cope, addressed “To the right honorable the Lord Vycount Cranborne at the Courte.” Endorsed: 1604, Sir Walter Cope to my Lord. Hatfield House MSS. See Third Report of the Royal

Commission of Historical Manuscripts. 1872. p.
148. "*Cent. of Praise*," p. 62.

Hamlet's:

"The less they deserve, the more
Merit in your bounty."

found no entrance in Cope's philosophy.

Doctor C. W. Wallace in 'The First London Theatre,'
1913, tells us:

"In June, 1589, Burbage and his son Cuthbert appealed to Walter Cope in the matter. Cope was gentleman usher to the Lord High Treasurer of England, and in that important post had great influence. He was intimate with every high official of the realm, and later himself became one of the powerful men of England under James I. Cuthbert Burbage, a young man of only twenty-two years, according to his own deposition, was then and for some years later employed by Cope as His "servant," probably as clerk in some department of the Treasury. Upon the request of Cuthbert and his father, Walter Cope wrote a letter to John Hyde suggesting that Cope might be of service to Hyde with the Lord Treasurer sometime, if he would be so good as to convey to Cuthbert the lease of the Theatre. So Hyde did it. He said afterwards, as Bett testified, that if it had not been for Cope's letter he would not have sold to Cuthbert, but to Clough and Middlemore, who very much wanted it. It was a close shave for the Burbage—and possibly for the future drama."

We catch a glimpse of Bacon's friends at the Mermaid in this letter:

"Yesternight Mr. Edmunds, Mr. Winwood, your brother, Mr. Gent, and myself supt at the Mermaide,

where your health was often remembered, and better provided for *inter.pocula* then your owne, for I have ben distempered ever since. . . . And so with my best wishes I commit you to God."

From London, this 11th of February, 1602.

Yours most assuredly,

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

[*Addressed,*]

To my assured goode frend

Mr. Dudley Carleton

give these

at the Lord Ambassadors

in Paris.

Chamberlain did not enjoy these *wet* combats as much as Ben Jonson and Fletcher did. In his poem, "Inviting a Friend to Supper," Jonson says:

But that which most doth take my muse and me,
Is a pure cup of rich Canary wine,
Which is the Mermaid's now, but shall be mine.
Of this we shall sup free, but moderately;
Nor shall our cups make any guilty men:
But at our parting we will be as when
We innocently met. No simple word,
That shall be utter'd at our mirthful board,
Shall make us sad next morning, or affright
The liberty that we'll enjoy to night.

This resolution must have been made on a New Year's Eve, for we are told by a contemporary that wine was the element in which Jonson lived.

I do not hesitate to say that these friends of Bacon's knew Shakespeare well, although his name is never mentioned in their correspondence.

These letters of John Chamberlain to his friend Sir Dudley Carleton from 1597 to 1603, Edited for the Camden Society, are filled with contemporary news of all kinds, and are valuable contributions to the social, artistic, and political life of his day. They bring us in contact with the most notable people of Elizabeth's Court, and after her death they enable us to follow them into the Court of James I., for Chamberlain continued to write up to the year of his death, 1625.

A happy few of Chamberlain's friends, I am inclined to think, were members of a sort of secret society which held its meetings at the house of Dr. Gilbert on St. Peters Hill, London. During the Essex troubles this Dr. Gilbert was chosen as one of the Queen's physicians and their meetings at his house were broken up. On Nov. 14, 1601, Chamberlin writes:

MR. CARLETON,

"I wrote to Mr. Winwood the last weeke, and sent him such poore occurents as the time affords. I meant to have saluted you likewise, and geven you thancks for yours of the 24th of the last, which came to my hands that weeke, but I could neither find time nor place, unles I shold have crept into some scriveners shop, for Mr. Lytton, whiles he is here, hath so much companie, and so much to do, that he possesseth every corner, so that I am driven to a narrow shift to write now." Showing how he missed the privacy of Dr. Gilbert's.

On Feb. 3rd, 1600, he had written:

"The Quene hath made choise of our Doctor for her phisition, but he is not yet sworne. I doubt our colledge wilbe dissolved, and some of us sent to seeke our fortune."

Again on May 27, 1601:

"GOODE MR. CARLETON,

I am driven to such straights that I know not

what to say but *quid scribam, aut quid non scribam?* The uncertaintie of your stay, my long absence from this towne, the unluckines of my letters to be lost or overlooked, and the difficultie of finding fit messengers, have almost quite discouraged me, and made me a truant *en rostre endroze*, for so will I acknowledge it to you, howsoever to others I could salve and make all whole with passable and pregnant excuses; but with so goode a frend I will never disguise, but tell the plaine troth and (which is worst) without hope of amendes, for I know not how to redeeme that is past with future diligence, being (since the dissolution of our societie) become altogether a countriman, and not appearing heer but as a termier."

From London 8th of July 1601 he writes:

"Mr. Gent, at his going out of towne yesterday, willed me to commend him to you. We shall meet very shortly, God willing, at Askot. If you direct your letters either to my lodging, or to Mr. John Nortons, they will finde me out."

To my assured goode frend

Mr. Dudley Carleton

geve these

at Paris.

Again on June 8th 1602: "If you write direct your letters to Norton's and I will leave order to have them sent after me."

This was John Norton the Printer, who later on printed some of Shakespeare's plays. Richard Field printed North's *Plutarch* for John Norton in 1603. In this same letter he says: "Little Britain is translated to a house without Criplegate, where they have more elbow roome, but scant better aire."

Carleton's sister Mrs. Williams lived in Little Britain,

not far from Silver and Mugwell Streets. Perhaps they had taken a house for the summer without Cripplegate which brought them still nearer to Shakespeare's lodgings in Silver Street.

On the preceding page will be found a map of Little Britain showing its exact location in Shakespeare's day. This I had copied from the map of Aggas, 1563.

Again he mentions Cripplegate:

"I see not your friends without Criplegate; but I heare your sister Williams hath had a sonne. You must excuse my hudling haste, and commend me in all kindnes to Mr. Winwood, to whom I wold have written if either I had more matter or leisure; but you may supplie that default with acquainting him with what you thincke worth the imparting; and so I commit you to Gods holy protection."

From London, this second of October, 1602.

Yours most assuredly,

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

This year 1602 was a prosperous one for Shakespeare, for he bought lands from John Combe in Stratford-on-Avon, and secured a parcel of land in Rowington, nearby.

It was also a lucky year for his associate Cuthbert Burbage who was saved from bankruptcy by Francis Bacon. Why was Bacon chosen, when there were so many other able lawyers at Grays Inn? My belief is that he was friendly with Burbage and his "deserving man" Shakespeare. There is in a letter of Chamberlain's dated April 26, 1602, in which he uses a Shakespearian phrase:

"I have an inckling (but you must take no notice of it in any wise,) that your wisest and best esteemed sister is taken in the same trap; so that I see, if wenches have not their will, and that

husbands come not at call, we shall have them all discontented and turne Turke."

Perhaps "turne Turke" was a current Court phrase for Hamlet uses it in: "If the rest of my fortunes turn Turke."

In this letter 19 Nov. 1602 we get a glimpse of the Court and the Bankside:

"At the tilt were many younge runners, as you may perceve by the paper of their names. Your foole Garret made as faire a shew as the proudest of them, and was as well disguised, mary not altogether so well mounted, for his horse was no bigger than a goode ban-dogge; but he delivered his scutchion with his *impresa* himself, and had goode audience of her Majestie, and made her very merry. And, now we are in mirth, I must not forget to tell you of a cousening prancke of one Venner, of Lincolns Inne, that gave out bills of a famous play on Saterdag was sevenight on the Banckeside, to be acted only by certain gentlemen and gentlewomen of account. The price at coming in was two shillings or eighteen pence at least; and, when he had gotten most part of the mony into his hands, he wold have shewed them a faire paire of heeles, but he was not so nimble to get up on horsebacke, but that he was faine to forsake that course, and betake himselfe to the water, where he was pursued and taken, and brought before the Lord Cheife Justice, who wold make nothing of it but a jest and a merriment, and bounde him over in five pound to appeare at the sessions. In the meane time the common people, when they saw themselves deluded, revenged themselves upon the hangings, curtains, chaires, stooles, walles, and whatsoever came in their way, very outrageously, and made great spoile; there was great store of goode companie, and many noblemen."

Herein we catch a sight of two of Bacon's friends:

"Our Mr. Trot shall marry one Mr. Perins daughter of Hartfordshire, a lusty tall wench able to beat two of him. Newes came this morning that Fulke Grivell is returned, and that the caraque is arrived at Plimmouth."

On Oct. 2, 1605, Chamberlain goes with Bodley and others to Oxford University:

"Mr. Bodley nor Mr. Gent are neither of them come to towne, so that I have nobody nor nowhere to learne any thing on the sodain; and yet, hearing of a post that goes away soone, I wold not omit to write, though I have nothing but countrie occurrences, which you shall have as redelie as I can remember them in this haste, even *ab ovo*. The commencement at Oxford was very famous, for plentie of doctors, that were fifteen, twelve divines, and three lawyers; for store of venison, whereof Dr. Kinge had 27 buckes for his part; for royall chere, and an excellent *concio ad clerum*, wherein your cousen Dr. Goodwin bare the bell; for the exceeding assemblie of gentles, but specially for the great confluence of cutpurses, whereof ensued many losses and shrewde turnes, as first Mr. Bodley lost his clocke, Sir Richard Lea two jewells of 200 markes, which Sir Harry Lea and he meant to have bestowed on the bride, Mr. Tanfelds daughter; and divers other lost goode summes of five, eight, and fourteen pounds, besides petty detriments of scarfes, fans, gloves; and one mad knave, whether of malice or merriment, tooke the advantage to pull of a gentlewomans shooe, and made the goose go home barefoote. I was not there myself; but, understanding what a high tide there was like to be, wold not commit myself to the streame, but

lay quiet at Mr. Dormers, where we had your brothers companie now and then."

To Carlton 7th Dec. 1612 he writes:

"Our Cambridge men are nothing so forward in affections; only I have some verses are set out and given to some few, but not publicly sold."

Ballads, books, and literature of all kinds passed between these friends:

"I have some papers of yours which I meane to leave at your sister Williams. I cannot send you Grobendoncs booke, for I presently restored it to Blacke Milles, of whom I borrowed it. Thus in haste I bid you farewell."

From London, this 10th of May, 1600.

Yours most assuredly,

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

In Feb. 1602 he says:

"The last I wrote you was about the tenth or eleventh of this present, and I sent it (with a booke or two) by one Gresham, that kepes a bugle shop in St. Martins."

In the following we see the beginning of the end had come for the unfortunate young Earl of Essex:

"The Erle of Essex hath ben somewhat crasie this weeke. The Lord Keeper was sent for yesterday to the Court, wherupon his followers feed themselves fat with hope in this leane time of Lent. I heare that Sir Henry Nevill is become deafe since his going over, and therfore makes meanes to be called home. Litle Britain is left desolate, and the whole household translated into Essex. I know not how my last came to your hands, nor how this shall finde the way, but you see what shift I have made to peece out a letter

more then I meant in the beginning. And so in haste I commit you to God."

From London, this last of February, 1600.

Yours most assuredly,

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

To my assured goode frend

Mr. Dudley Carleton

geve these, at Rycot,

or elsewhere.

There is a letter in Winwood's "Memorials" which leads me to believe Chamberlain must have been employed as a "Gentleman quartely waiter" in the Court of James I. It is from Carleton who writes to Winwood:

"In Mr. Chamberlains absence, I come in quarter, and have waited so diligently at Court this Christmas, that I have matter enough, if the report of Masks and Mummings can please etc."

When Sir Francis Bacon was married in 1606 Carleton wrote Chamberlain 11 April 1606, "His chief guests were the three Knights Cope, Hicks, and Beeston."

In this long correspondence we seek in vain for the name of Shakespeare.

On Cecil's death May 24, 1612, Chamberlain says: "It drowned all other news." On March previous he wrote referring to Bacon's Essay on Deformaty saying:

"Where in a chapter of Deformaty the world takes note he paints his little cousin to the life."

Dr. Gilbert referred to, published his book "*De Magne*" in 1600, which is noticed by Bacon in his *Novum Organum*.

The following letter is from Spedding's Letters and Life of Bacon, Vol. VII.:

TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

My Lord Ambassadors,

This gentleman Mr Jocelyn served me when I kept the great Seal. I found him honest and orderly. He desireth to be favoured in a Coronell's Company, and hopeth to obtain it by your good mean and your endeavor by my recommendation, which I would be very glad he should, and most heartily pray you to be his help for my sake.

Ever resting Your Lordships very affectionate friend,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

Grays Inn

15 of Ap. 1623.

In Aubrey's *Brief Lives* Ed. by Clark, is the following regarding Bacon's widow:

"His Dowager married her gentleman Usher Sir Thomas Underhill, whom she made deaf and blind by too much Venus."

and continues:

"His Lordship was a good poet but concealed. * * * He had a delicate lively hazel eye, Dr. Harvey told me it was like the eye of a viper," and adds: "I have now forgot what Mr Bushell says, whether his Lordship enjoyed his muse best at night or in the morning."

Dudley Carleton's 2nd wife was Anne daughter of Sir Henry Glenham and widow of Paul Vicount Bayning. This lady was descended from the Bacons.

Carleton's sister Bridget married Hercules Underhill, who in 1602 gave Shakespeare the quit-claim to New Place. This gentleman was Knighted by James I. in 1617. In 1599 a book written by John Hayward "*The first part of the Life of Hen. IV.*" and dedicated to the Earl of Essex, much displeased the Queen.

This is Chamberlain's account of it:

"For lacke of better matter, I send you three or foure toyes to passe away the time. The letter of Squires conspiracie is well written, but the other of Dr. Dee is a ridiculous bable of an old imposturing jugler. The Silkworme is thought to be Dr. Muffetts, and in mine opinion is no bad piece of poetrie. The treatise of Henry the Fourth is reasonable well written. The author is a younge man of Cambridge toward the civill lawe. Here hath ben much descanting about it, why such a storie shold come out at this time, and many exceptions taken, especially to the Epistle, which was a short thing in Latin dedicated to the Erle of Essex, and objected to him in goode earnest, whereupon there was commaundment it shold be cut out of the booke; yet I have got you a transcript of it that you may picke out the offence if you can; for my part I can finde no such buggeswords, but that everything is as it is taken. I am going the next weeke (God willing) to Knebworth, in which consideration I am not greatly sorry for your stayeng at Ostend, for I shold have injoyed but litle of your company, which perhaps will come better to passe at some other time. And so, wishing you all contentment both here and there, I commit you to God.

From London, this first of March, 1599.

Yours most assuredly,

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

Francis Bacon wrote *Devices and letters for Essex* and may have composed the following to which Chamberlain refers on Oct. 20, 1598:

"I have here sent you some verses that go under the name of the Lord of Essex when he was in disgrace, but I cannot warrant them to be his, nor made at that time."

Again:

"I have sent you here a passionate letter of my Lord of Essex, the last he wrote to the Quene out of Ireland; and thus you see what a bundell I have made of all that comes to hand, and perchaunce wearied you as much as myself, and therefore without further ceremonies I will bid you farewell."

From London this 13th of June, 1600.

Ben Jonson's "*Every Man in his Humor*" may here be referred to in 1597:

"We have here a new play of humors in very great request, and I was drawn alonge to it by the common applause, but my opinion of it is (as the fellow saide of the shearing of hogges), that there was a great crie for so litle wolle."

On Dec. 8, 1598, he sends:

"Thesaurus Geographicus, which may well serve your turn for old authors, but for the late writers and discoveries I thincke it will stand you in litle stead. I send you likewise such pedlarie pamphlets and three-halfpeny ware as we are served with; make the best use you can of them, and use your owne censure, but if I be not deceived some of the satires are passable."

He refers to other books in this:

"The French Inventairie is not come forth, the author being saide to be dead, but there is hope it will be found among his papers. Here is nothing come out this last mart worth the looking after; I do not thincke but you may fit your self better at Middleburg, for that many times thinges are current there that be here forbidden."

Of the marriage of Bacon's Cousin Anne Russell he writes:

"I doubt not but you have heard of the great

mariage at the Lady Russells, where the Quene was present, being caried from the water side in a curious chaire and lodged at the Lord Cobhams; and of the maske of eight maides of honour and other gentlewomen in name of the Muses that came to seeke one of their fellowes, and of the knighting of Sir Fetipher with many goode wordes more then God knowes he was worthy of. And this being *summa totalis* of that I have to say, I commend you to the protection of the Almighty.

From London, this 24th of June, 1600.

Yours most assuredly,

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

And again:

"We shall have the great marriage on Monday at the Lady Russells, where it is saide the Quene will vouchsafe her presence, and lie at the Lord Chamberlains, or the Lord Cobhams, whose marriage is thought likewise shalbe then consummated if it be not don already."

Lady Russell's residence was close to the Blackfriars Theatre.

The following written on Feb. 15, 1598, shows the bickerings at Court over Essex:

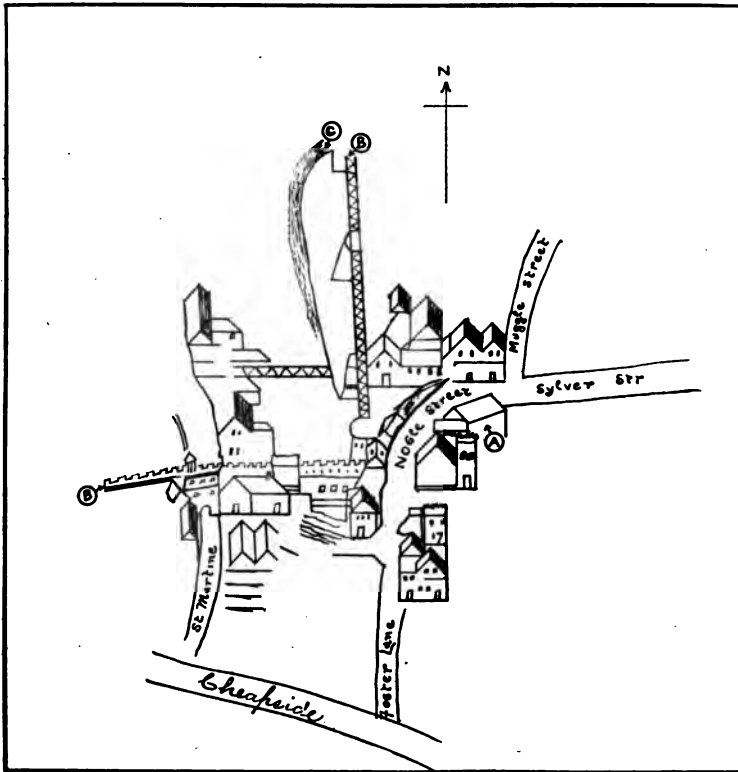
"Our provisions for Ireland go forward with leaden feet, and the Erle of Essex commission is no neerer signing (in shew) then when I wrote last. The jarres continue as they did, if not worse, by daily renewing, and our musicke runs so much upon discords that I feare what harmonie they will make of it in the end. Many things passe which may not be written; but, in conclusion, *Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra*, there is fault on all sides, and, *quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi*, whosoever offends the common wealth is punished."

In this same letter he says:

"I send you here certain odde epitaphs and epigrammes that go under the name of pasquils."

Query—Were these written by Nicholas Breton? He wrote "*Pasquils Mad-Cap*," and "*Pasquils*" of other sorts. Nicholas Breton's mother was a daughter of John Bacon. After her husband's death (who left her a rich widow with several children) she married the poet George Gascoigne, a member of Gray's Inn. Gascoigne helped in the Kenilworth entertainment given in honor of the Queen, in 1575. Nicholas Breton dedicated "*Characters upon Essaies, Morall and Divine*," 1615, to Sir Francis Bacon.

Shakespeare sought the good of all men. He above all others elevated the Actor, and uplifted Dramatic Art. On March 10th, 1582, Sir Francis Walsingham sent for Edmund Tilney "to chuse out a Company of Players for her Majesty" (see Appendix B.) *Query*—Was Hamlet's instructions to the Players, originally given to these twelve men who were chosen for the Queene's Players? Later on the Poet corrected, and added many lines to the original sketch, which is greatly enlarged in the first *Folio*.



- (A) This is the site of Bacon's House just under the shadow of the London Wall.
- (B) City walls.
- (C) Within outside the city wall.
- (X) Drawing from tracing of ancient map

I am indebted to Mr. Charles W. F. Goss, F. S. A., Hon. Librarian and Hon. Secretary of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, for the above map showing the actual site of Bacon's House in Noble Street, and its nearness to Silver Street, and Muggle Street.

SHAKESPEARE'S LODGINGS IN SILVER STREET.

We find in Harper's Magazine March, 1910, Dr. W. C. Wallace, through his researches in the Public Record Office, London, discovered the earliest known signature of Shakespeare, dated May 11, 1612. This was signed to a deposition, as a witness in the *Belott v. Montjoy* suit. Dr. Wallace discovered that Shakespeare was a lodger in the house of Montjoy, a Tire-maker, and that he had sojourned there from 1598 to 1612.

This house was on the corner of Silver and Mugwell Streets, in a zone of interesting houses filled with historical Elizabethans. Bacon House was in Noble Street, and Stowe says: "Then at the North end of Noble Street is the Parish Church of Saint Olave, in Silver Street." The only monument worth Stowe's notice in this Church was that of Lord Windsor's daughter, who died in 1600.

Bacon's friend, Lord Windsor, had a house in Mugwell (now Monkwell) Street. Bacon's father owned property in the Parish of St. Botolph, without Bishops Gate, and in the Parish of St. Lawrence Old Jewry.

If Francis Bacon befriended Shakespeare, as I think he did, the Poet's residence in the house of the Huguenot, Christopher Montjoy, is not to be wondered at. Anthony Bacon sympathized with the Huguenots. His long residence in France enabled him to speak French perfectly, and much of his correspondence was in French.

One of his familiar friends, Mr. John Castol, was the head of the French Church in Threadneedle Street, London, to which church the *Belott v. Montjoy* suit was sent for a final decision. "Mr. John Castol was minister of the French Church from 1581 to 1601 and was succeeded by Mr. Abraham Aurelius, who was minister from 1605 to

1631." This I have learned from Mr. Charles W. F. Goss, F.S.A., who kindly sent me the information. In passing I may say that the Huguenot printer and bookseller, Astanius De Reinalme, 1580-1600, who resided in the Blackfriars, named in his will one Castol of the French Church, London. Also in Minshu's Dict., 1625, I find among the Subscribers 'the French Church Library in London.'

This discovery of Dr. Wallace opens up a new vein of inquiry very interesting to the student. I find that Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, in his Will 1612, mentions Thomas Belott. His father, the great Burleigh, had a Steward by that name.

Barnaby Riche in his satirical pamphlet, 'The Honestie of This Age,' 1614, pictures for us the trade of a Tire-maker as follows:

"I would be loath to do Minerva wrong,
To forge untruths, or deck my lynes with lyes;
I can not fable, flatter, nor disguise.
Yet mounted now on Tyme's discerning stage,
I stand to note the Follies of this Age.'

Among these Follies, Riche seems to be particularly severe on Tire-makers and Tires. This pamphlet was printed two years after the Belott *v.* Montjoy suit. It is said Shakespeare was indebted to 'Riche's Farewell to the Militaire Profusion,' 1581. King James found fault with this book, but after he became King of England he gave Riche a gift of a hundred pounds for some service or other performed in Scotland.

According to Riche some of the fine ladies in their coaches would turn a deaf ear to the cry of beggars and:

'Let them cry till their tongues do ake, my lady
hath neyther eyes to see nor eares to heare, shee
holdeth on her way to the Tyre-maker's shoppe,
where shee shaketh out her crownes to bestowe upon
some new fashioned attire, that if we may say there

be deformitie in art, upon such artificial deformed periwigs that they were fitter to furnish a Theatre or for her that in a stage play should represent some Hagge of Hell, than to be used by a Christian woman.'

Did Montjoy make female wigs for the boy-actors? As Shakespeare 'sojourned' in his house fifteen years I have no doubt he brought him much Theatrical trade. Riche continues:

'And what are these they do call Attyre-makers? the first inventers of these monstrous periwigs? and the finders out of very many other like immodest attyres? What are these and all the rest of these fashion mongers? * * * if you will not acknowledge these to be idolmakers, yet you cannot deny them to be devil's enginers, ungodly instruments to decke and ornifie such men and women as may well be reputed to be but Idolle's' * * * 'As these Attyre-makers that within these forty years were not known by that name, and but nowe very lately they kept their lowzie commodities of periwigs, and their other monstrous attyres closed in boxes, they might not be seene in open show, and those women who used to weare them would not buy them but in secret. But now they are not ashamed to sette them forth upon their stalls, such monstrous May-poles of hayre, so proportioned and deformed, that but within these twenty yeares would have drawn the passers by to stand and gaze, and to wonder at them. * * * The ancient Romanes prohibited all sorts of people, as well men or women, from wearing gaudy garments, Players and Harletes only excepted; for to them there was tolleration in regard of their professions. * * * And from whence commeth this wearing and imbrodering of long lokes, this curiositie that is used amongst men in freziling and curling of their hayre? * * * And are not our

gentlemen in as dangerous a plight now, (I mean those Apes of Fancy), that do looke so like *Attymakers maydes*, that for the dainty decking up of themselves might sit in any Seamsters shop in all the Exchange.'

In Warton's Hist. of Poetry, Vol. III, he says:

"On St. Olave's day, 1557, the holiday of the Church in Silver Street, which is dedicated to that Saint, was kept with much solemnity. At eight of the clock at night began a Stage-play, of goodly matter, being the miraculous history of the life of that saint, which continued four hours, and was concluded with many religious songs."

Just across the street from this church stood Montjoy's house.

Barber-Surgeons Hall was also in Monkwell Street. In 1596 Thomas Nashe in 'Have with you to Saffron Walden' writes:

"Letters do you term them? They may be letters Patent well enough for their tediousness; for no lecture at Surgeons Hall upon an Anatomie may compare with them in longitude."

Indicating Nashe attended these lectures.

Walpole's 'Anecdotes of Painting in England,' Vol. 1, p. 136, has:

"Of Holbein's public works in England I find an account of only four. The first is that capital picture in Barber Surgeons Hall of Hen. VIII., giving the charter to the company of Surgeons. The character of His Majesty's bluff haughtiness is well represented, and all the heads are finely executed. The picture itself has been retouched but it is well known by Barons print. The physician in the middle, on the King's left hand, is Dr. Butts, immortalized by Shakespeare."

We can imagine the Poet standing before this great picture before writing Hen. VIII. wherein Dr. Butts, Bacon's relative, is one of the characters. Both Montjoy and Bellott seemed to have engaged two Gray's Inn lawyers, George Hartopp, Montjoy's lawyer was admitted to Gray's Inn April 21, 1600, and Bellott's lawyer, Ralph Wormlaigton, was admitted May 26, 1598. Hartopp was the son of Wm. Hartopp of Burton Lazars, Co. Leicester.

I think one of Sir George Greenwood's wonderfully clever books "*Is There A Shakespeare Problem?*" has been by many answered in the affirmative.

If the end of study is to find :

"Things hid and barr'd from common sense"

it seems to me, the one who dexterously sails clear of the Baconian *Scylla* and the Stratfordian *Charybdis* will the sooner reach the shore of true discovery.

Time, "the author of authors"—the father of Truth, will reveal the Problem—if there is one.

BACON'S WARWICKSHIRE KINSMEN AND THE UNDERHILLS

By his marriage to Bacon's Aunt Mildred Cooke, William Cecil took an immense stride forward, and it advanced him to higher place. The Cooke's and the Bacon's, had for generations followed the Court, and were allied to the best families in England. Pedigrees were William Cecil's hobby. He drew up a number of genealogies of the Kings and Queens of England, Germany, and France. Mildred Cooke's grandmother was a Belknap of the illustrious family who owned large manors in Warwickshire and elsewhere, and on his mother's side Robert Cecil was well born. The Bacon's Anthony and Francis, could rightfully claim an illustrious ancestry from both paternal and maternal progenitors.

Augustus Jessopp in "One Generation of a Norfolk House," tells us Father Parsons well knew Cecil's weakness for fictitious pedigrees and says:

"Cecil's birth was comparatively obscure, at least he could boast of no forefathers who had belonged to the English gentry. Cecil knew it, and was sore at the thought; but, if his grandfather was nobody, might not his remote ancestors have been princes and nobles? So he gave himself to genealogy, and was forever hunting for some pedigree which might fit on to himself and his progenitors; this pedigree making was one of the great man's foibles. In the State Paper Office and at Hatfield there are whole volumes full of these genealogical notes, and it appears that Cecil never could shake off the fascination which such researches exercised over his mind.

A few months after the publication of the

edict, and immediately upon the completion of the first draught of the Answer to it, a copy in MS. was forwarded to the Treasurer by one of his spies in Flanders. Cecil was gratified by the promptitude of his agent, and addressed to him a letter of thanks for his zeal, and at the same time added some comments upon the reply; Parsons had laughed at him for his lowly birth, retorting upon him a sneer which the edict itself contained. Cecil in his letter had betrayed his mortification, and writing to the spy, entered into particulars about his supposed ancestors, claiming descent from Welsh princes, and asserting that his family had originally been settled at Sitsil in Wales. When the Responsio was published, there before the eyes of amazed Europe was Cecil's own letter, translated into Latin, with all its ridiculous pretensions exposed. Parsons was vastly pleased, and made himself infinitely merry; he did not spare his victim; all the resources of sarcasm and irony were used to sting the Treasurer, and Cecil, deeply mortified, writhed under the lash. Doubtless all possible means were used to keep the book out of England; but besides the interest which the Catholics had in giving it a wide circulation, there were too many people in high position, who had no great love to the Lord Treasurer, to allow of such a *bonne bouche* as this bitter and telling attack to remain unknown, unread and unsold. Vexed and intensely mortified, Cecil was weak enough to betray the pain of the sting; and when Philopater's book could no longer be suppressed, with fitety ill-temper he printed a sort of reply, trying to make the best of an attack which might more safely have been left alone."

The ancestor of Sir Nicholas Bacon Knt. Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, was Grimbaldus, a Norman related

to William Earl Warren, with whom he came into England at the Conquest.

In 1402 a Will Bakon was Prior of the Convent de Marstoke Warwick. The Belknaps owned manors in Whitechurch, Kingswood, and Griffie all in the county of Warwickshire, pp. 771-2 Dugdale. Whitechurch was just 5½ miles from Stratford-on-Avon, and I find Nicholas Underhill was an incumbent of White Church in 1571 to which he was presented by Bacon's kinsman, Anthony Cooke Ar. P 484 *Ibid.* This Underhill was related to the Underhills who owned New Place afterwards owned by Shakespeare.

This is the earliest link I find between the Cooke family and the Underhills. The Lord Chancellor Bacon in 1618 drew up a list of his men servants wherein he names one Underhill, one of his gentlemen waiters. *Query*, Could this have been the gentleman Usher, who shortly after Lord Verulam's death married his widow? I'm inclined to think so.

The Cooke's were connected with the Belknaps, Shelley's Sudeley's and with "that great family of Montford Lords of Belderset" in Warwickshire. The Belknaps owned the Manor of Henley in Arden, situated in the Forest of Arden. Henry VII granted Wedgnock Park with the gardens and waters in the Park to Edward Belknap Esq., of the body for life. Dugdale says "this is one of the most ancient Parks in England," and further: "Which Sir Edward * * * being a man of great note, had his residence here and rebuilt the manor house, one of the fairest structure of Timber that I have seen. On several parts whereof his Arms are cut in wood quartering the coats of Sudley, Montfert, and Boteler, and by his last will and Testament dated 12 Hen 8. bequeathed it to dame Alice his wife for term of her life, after which it came to John Shelley Esq cousin and heir to the said Edward by Alice his sister." Dugdale pp. 199-200.

Bacon House in London was formerly called Shelley House. In 1577 William Fleetwood the Recorder of London writes the following letter from Bacon House to Lord Burleigh, wherein he pictures Bacon's grandmother, widow of Sir Anthony Cooke, in all her state, and also, speaks of "Mrs Blackwells house in the Blackfriars." This was the house which adjoined the one sold to Shakespeare in 1612-13.

* * */ Vpon Thursday last Mr Garter and Northway not as kynges but as ffrendes, wt Mr Thomas Pole and myself were at Romford at the burying of mr Cade of the Duchie we did weare black/ At dyner Mr Pole taryed not, for he had taken a great surfett wt eating of fresh pork the day before at the Musters/ The Deane of Powies preached/ At the Sermon was my worshipfull frynde mrs Cook of Gwydy hall and her gentlewoman and trayne, but she would not tarry dyner/ Katheryn Carus the late Justice wiffe my Contry woman wt all her pryde and popery is this week gone (as I trust) to god/ she died in Bisshop Thirlbys chamber in mrs Blackwells howse in the black ffyers/

So when we consider Francis Bacon's maternal family the Cooke's were related to so many of the great Warwickshire families my conjecture that Bacon met Shakespeare in his youth when visiting in Warwickshire, may be more than a fine theory.

Through the Montferts the Cloptons came into possession of Clopton in Hen III. time. "Peter de Montfert granted it to James de Clopton and his heirs by the name of the Mannour of Clopton." Dugdale. The Montferts also owned all the village of Charlecote and in Rich I. time gave it to Walter. "This Walter was Paternally a Montfert" and from this Walter (who was a Knt.) descended William that assumed the name of Lucy" *ibid.*

"Idlicote in 33 Hen. 8, was given to Thomas Cawarden Esq & Eliza his wife, and his lawful heirs. He left no heirs, and in 4. Eliza, she granted it to Ludwick Greville and others but soon after to Underhill as it seems for in 12 Eliza, did Will Underhill die seized thereof, leaving Will his son & heir XIII. years of age & upwards whose granchild Sir Hercules Underhill Kt. now enjoys it." Dugdale 458.

In his choice of a second wife the great Cecil made no mistake. It cannot be denied that he was a very great man, and had the ability to sway Elizabeth by making her believe she governed England. In this way he became as Francis Bacon called him "the Atlas of this Commonwealth."

That courteous gentleman Sir Thomas Copley related to the Cooke's through the Belknaps, and so persecuted for his religion writes to Burleigh from Paris 21 of July 1580:

Right Honorable

My dewtie promised after I had finissed my other long letter to your Lordship to move the same to be the more favorable to me. * * * But massife thing or of great value I resolved with my self was not to be sent, as well becaus my thinn purse was not hable to yieeld gowlden guiftes, as chiefly for the experience I have had of your Lordship's great and incorrupted mynde, utterli avertid from the receivng of suche presents, * * * In the end came to my minde a jewell I had that I thought could not be but very welcome to your Lordship to witt a Genealogie of my Lady" [who was his second cousin] "your wive's house by the Belknap his side. I thought once to have made a fayr coppie of it to send to your Lordship, but after considering that neither

this woold put in hazarde to lose the commodite of the next post, which woold be a great hindrance to me (and a protraction of the speed I wishe and my case requirith in the answer of my suite) and therewithal weyeng that in these matters of pedigrees shewe of antiquite geevith more autherite than nueness and beautie, I did rather choose to make present to your Lordship even of my originall, and for myself at laisure to take another coppie out of that my coosen Bacon [Anthony Bacon who was then in Paris] made to be drawn out of myne, which of late I lent him to that end. I pray your Lordship accept it at my hands herewith in good parte, for if I had ought that I thought might geeve your Lordship more contentment, I would have sent it. Thereby my coosins your children may perceeve that as your Lordship geevith very good accompt of their gentell bludd on their father's side so they want not on their mother's side to make any of them heerafter capable of the best commandree may faull in that realme or ells wheare, or of any other order crosse or chanourie either for men or for lady's wherof heer abrode ther be store for the maytenance of the yoonger brood of noble houses" . . .

Your good Lordships very fast and assured at commandment during life

T. Copley. *State Papers Dorn. Eliz. cxi. 27.*

WAS ANNE CECIL THE PROTOTYPE OF HELENA
IN "ALL'S WELL"?

Edward de Vere the seventeenth Earl of Oxford who broke the heart of Bacon's cousin Anne Cecil, by inhuman treatment, was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1567. Robert Greene dedicated to him in 1584 "*The Carde of Fancie*." The character of this nobleman was despicable. His name is not mentioned among those who witnessed the *Gesta Grayorum* for he was not esteemed by the Bacons, the Cecils or any of their friends. Sir Egerton Brydges in his Reprint of "*The Paridise of Dainty Devices*" referring to Oxford says:

"His character seems to have been marked with haughtiness, vanity, and affectation. He aped Italian dresses, and was called *the Mirrour of Tuscanismo*. His rank however, and his illustrious family commanded the respect of a large portion of the literary world; and among his eulogists, were Watson, Lily, Golding, Munday, Greene, Lock, and Spenser."

Young Talbot writing to his parents says:

"My Lo. of Oxforth is lately growne into great credite; for the Q.' Matie delitithe more in his parsonage, and his daunsinge, and valientnes, then any other: I thinke Sussex dothe back him all that he can; if it were not for his fyckle hed he would passe any of them shortly. My Lady Burghley unwisely hath declared herselfe, as it were, gelious, wch is come to the Quene's eare; whereat she hath bene not a litell offended wth hir, but now she is reconciled agayne. At all theise love matters my Lo. Treasurer winketh, and will not meddle any way." Lodge *Ills. Vol. II.*

In a *note* Lodge observes :

"This was Edward de Vere, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford of his family. The following anecdote confirms Mr. Talbot's hint of his eccentric character. When the Duke of Norfolk, whom he entirely loved, was condemned, he applied to Lord Burghley, whose daughter he had married, passionately beseeching him to interfere in the Duke's behalf; but his request being refused, he told Burghley, with the greatest fury, that he would revenge himself by ruining the Countess: And he made his threat good; for from that hour he treated her with the most shocking brutality, and, having broke her heart, sold and dissipated the most part of his great fortune. He died June 24, 1604."

THE EARL OF OXFORD'S cavillations *contra* LORD BURGHLEY. [Written in Burleigh's hand.]

[1576.]—Injuries and unkind parts [of the Earl]: leaving his issue female unprovided of land; rejecting his wife at her coming to him without cause shewed; continuing to forbear from her company without cause; detaining her apparel, and all her chamber stuff for the space of three months; suffering false reports to be made touching her honesty; quarrelling against the Lord Treasurer for matters untrue and of no value, that is to say:—

[CAVILLATIONS.]

1. That Clopton and Faunt were by him maintained.
2. That Denny, the French boy, and others that lay in wait to kill Clopton, were punished by the Lord Treasurer.
3. That he had not his money made over sea so speedily as he desired.

4. That his wife was most directed by her father and mother.

5. That Hubbard would not deliver to the Earl his writings, wherein he was maintained by the Lord Treasurer.

[ANSWERS.]

They were committed by the Lord Treasurer, and no cause could be shewed of their desert, and they were set at liberty by the Earl himself without knowledge of the Lord Treasurer.

They were imprisoned by order of the Queen given to her Council, as they deserved.

He had in one year 3,000*l.* and 2,700*l.* by the credit of the Lord Treasurer, when the Earl's money could not be had.

She must be most directed by her parents when she had no house of the Earl's to go to, and in her sickness and childbed only looked to by her parents.

He offered to deliver all, so he might be saved harmless against the Earl's creditors, who threatened to arrest him. *Cal.' Hatfield MSS. Vol. II. P. 144.*

The following excerpts are from the *European Magazine*, June 1788, p. 389:

"To the EDITOR of the EUROPEAN MAGAZINE

SIR,

The enclosed epitaphs form part of a poetical collection, addressed to the *Right Honourable the Earl of Oxford, &c.* by one *John Southern*, 4to. black letter, the title-page wanting. This book is so rare, that no other fragment of it appears to have been met with by the most vigilant among our ancient and modern collectors. . . . His patron, Edward Vere, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, flourished early in the reign of Elizabeth,

and died at an advanced age, in the second year of her successor.

* * * The name of his Countess, however, (who was Anne, the eldest daughter of the famous Cecil Lord Burleigh) not being inserted in any catalogue of rhyming Peeresses, I send you four of her productions, undoubtedly printed in her lifetime by Master *Southern* aforesaid; and trust that I have thereby ascertained her right to a place in some future edition of Mr. Walpole's very instructive and entertaining work.

* * * A modern reader will feel himself little interested by the mythological lamentations of the Countess. Lady Oxford, perhaps, only aimed at the character of a poetess, because her mother had been attached to literature, and poetry was the favorite amusement of her husband. She died at Queen Elizabeth's court at Greenwich, June 6, 1588, and on the 25th was pompously interred in Westminster Abbey. * * * "

The babe whom the Countess mourns so dolefully was born in 1576 and only lived two days.

"IN Dolefull wayes I spend the wealth of my time,
Feeding on my heart that ever comes agen,
Since the ordinances of the *Destins* hath ben
To end of the Saisons of my yeares the prime.

With my sonne, my gold, my nightingale, and
rose*,
Is gone; for t'was in him and no other where:
And well though mine eies run downe like
fountaines here,
The stone wil not speake yet, that doth it enclose.
And, *Destins* and Gods, you might rather have
tanne

*"Gold, the best of all mettelles; nightingale, the sweetest of all byrdes; and roses, the fairest of all flowers."

My twentie yeeres, than the two daies of my
sonne.
And of this world what shall I hope, since I knoe
That in his respect it can yeeld me but mosse;
Or what should I consume any more in woe,
When Destins, Gods, and Worlds are all in my
losse.

She was married at the age of fifteen. The date of the
year of her marriage would determine that of her verses.

THE hevens, death, and life, have conjured my yll,
For death hath take away the breath of my
sonne:

The hevens receive, and consent, that he hath
donne,
And my life dooth keepe me heere against my will.
But if our life be caus'de with moisture and
heate,
I care neither for the death, the life, nor skies;
For I'll sigh him warmth, and weat him with
my eies,

(And thus I shall be thought a second *Promet.*)

And as for life, let it doo me all despite;
For if it leave me, I shall goe to my childe;
And it in the hevens, there is all my delyght,
And if I live, my vertue is immortal:
So that the hevens, death and life, when they
doo all
Their force, by sorrowful vertue th' are be-
gild.

IDALL for *Adon* nev'r shed so many teares,
Nor *Thet'* for *Pelid*; nor *Phaebus* for *Hyacin-*
thus;
Nor for *Atis* the mother of *Prophetesses*,
As for the death of *Bulbecke* the Gods have cares.

At the brute of it the *Aphroditan* Queene
Caused more silver to distyll fro her eyes
Then when the droppes of her cheekes raysed
Daisyes,
And to die with him, mortall she would have beene.
The *Charits* for it breake their peruqs of golde,
The *Muses*, and the *Nymphes* of the caves, I
beholde

All the Gods under *Olympus* are constraint
On *Laches*, *Clotho*, and *Atropos* to plaine;
And yet beaultie for it doth make no complaint,
For it liv'd with him, and died with him againe.

*Others of the FOWRE LAST LYNES of other that
she made also.*

11. MY sonne is gone, and with it death and my
sorrow:
12. But death makes mee aunswere, Madame,
cease these mones,
13. My force is but on bodies of blood and
bones;
14. And that of yours is no more now but a
shadow."

The Countess appeals to death to end her sorrow
and death answers:

"My force is but on bodies of blood and bones;
And that of yours is no more now but a shadow."

In *Alls Well*, Act VIII, Helena who is supposed to
be dead enters and the King exclaims:

Is't real, that I see?

Helen replies:

No, my good lord;
'Tis but a shadow of a wife you see,
The name, and not the thing.

In 3 Hen. VI. 11, 5, there is a line which reminds
one of the following Epitaph of the broken hearted
mother:

"My heart, sweet boy, shall be thy sepulchre."

11. AMPHION's wife was turned to a rocke.
12. How well I hade beene, had I had such
 adventure,
13. For then I might againe have been the
 Sepulchre
14. Of him that I bare in mee so long ago."

After the death of her son the Countess of Oxford bore a daughter on May 20th 1587 who became the wife of Philip Herbert Earl of Montgomery in 1605.

There is a passage in Osborn's "*Traditional Memoirs*" 1689, P. 456, which helps to confirm my belief that the 17th Earl of Oxford was Shakespeare's Bertram. Referring to the fickle worthless affections of James I. Osborne says: "But however remote his affections were, he durst not banish Ramsey the Court, a poor satisfaction for [Philip] Herbert, that was left nothing to testifie his manhood but a beard and children, by that daughter of the last great *Earl of Oxford, whose lady was brought to his Bed under the notion of his Mistress, and from such a virtuous deceit she is said to proceed.*"

Did Shakespeare learn from Francis Bacon the secret of his cousin's sorrow? Osborne was Philip Herbert's Master of the Horse. He was also acquainted with the great Bacon, and greatly admired him. A John Osborn of Kyrby Byden in Norfolk married Alice daughter of Henry Bacon of Norwich. Perhaps Francis Osborn was connected with this family.

The King in "*All's Well that Ends Well*" has a malady that is pronounced incurable by his physicians. Bertram (Act I. 11) asks:

Ber. What is it my good lord the King languishes of?

Lafen answers:

A fistula, my lord.

Ber. I heard not of it before.

Laf. I would it were not notorious.

Queen Elizabeth had long suffered with this very disease—a fistula in her leg.

APPENDIX A.

HISTORY OF THE MANOR AND ANCIENT BARONY OF CASTLE COMBE IN THE COUN- TY OF WILTS, BY G. POULETT SCROPE, ESQ., M. P. 1852.

(Mem.—The passages within brackets are the variations or additions made in the complaint as sent in to Falstoff's executors.)

It is to remembre that in the firste yere that my moder was married to my fader Fastolf, he of his plesure solde me to William Gascoyne, that tyme chief justice of this land, for v.c. marke. The wich he had in his possession a iiij. yere. Thorough the wiche sale I tooke sekenesses that kept me a xiiij. or xiiij. yere swyng: whereby I am disfigured in my persone and shall be whilst I lyve.

Item, he bought me ayene, and than was I serteyn yeris under his governaunce, in sicke penurie that I was fayne to selle a place in Kent called Hevre for v.c. marcs, and therewith I put myself into service with my lord of Gloucestre. My seid fader conseyving that, sent to my seide moder sicke lettres as plesed hym, thurgh the wich I was feyne to go to hym over the see, with a yoman and a page on myn owne coste, God knoweth I beyng that tyme right seeke.

Item, whan I was comyn to hym, it plesed hym than of his grace to shewe me so good fader-hoode, that I was right glad to wayte upon hym to do hym service, though I were unworthy; he promysing at that tyme to make me yerely iiij. tymes worthe the lodechip of Wyghton (under the Wold in Yorkshire, the wich is xl the yere.)

Item, than I obeyed his desire, and left me my lorde of Gloucestris service, thurgh the wiche I loste his good

lordechip, whereas, he was set at that tyme to a put me in possession of the Ile of Man; or elles I have had a reasonable recompense therefore, as Sir William Cheney, that tyme chief justice, sent me woorde to Honnefleu be a man that was with hym, the wich levith yit, (called William Marchall.)

Item, than I served the king and my seid fader at Honnefleu as I coude, unto the tyme that my seyde fader took partie with the marchall of the town more than with me that was his son in lawe and his servaunt, the wich methought an unkyndenes, I beyng in the right (and they in the wrong).

Item, than be his licence I come into Yngland to my seid moder; and I was not there fully a yere, but that he sente home worde that I sholde paie for my mete and my drynke (or be voided), I havynge no lyveloode wherewith to paie (for I was ever afore in his governance), wich caused me to marie for default, and not al ther moste to myn availe. But I was fayne to take the tyme as it come. (Then was I feyn to schyfte me by marriage, as God wolde geve me grace; God knoweth whate hynderaunce y hadde by that marriage with hys meny, the which hurte y canne welle tell and y schalle.)

Item, the seid mariage of necessite caused me to be bounde in sicke bondes that ever sithyn I have levyed in grete payne and thought, or ellis I had not endured as I have don hiderto; and yit it myght not wele aben as it is of myn labour withoute the grete grace of God: for be straunche menes thurogh a sute made be my seid fader, I was dissesed of all the lyveloode that I had be my mariage, havynge wyff and childer and serteyn servaunts: and so endured iij. yere withoute any refuge save of God.

Item, than for very nede I was fayne to selle a litill doughter I have, for myche lesse than I sholde a don be possibilite, wherewith I lyve yit, and have litill ellis, but if it be mete and drinke: the wich as in that it is better

than I am worthe, so that I had assigned me a dute to have lyved with.

Item, notwithstanding the gret payne that I have endured, I am in doute that aftir the dysseise of my seid fader, sicke lyveloode as I am borne to have, shulde stande in sicke trouble be the mene of certyn astates and feoffements made unto diverce persones unknowen to me, be my seid fader, that I shoulde not mow esyly entre without trouble: for nowthir I knowe where to have the evidences that longeth to the seid lyveloode, ne the entent of the seide feoffementis; ne no man for me that I wote of.

Item, lowly besechyng my seid fader to remembre with these premisses how longe that he hath had the seid lyveloode that I am born to, and under what forme as in stroppe and waste: for me semeth every forme under the sotilte of lawe is no clere concience. The wich materes me seid fader can conseve myche better than ever I coude. (Afterwards corrected into, Item, entirely besechyng you to remembre with these premisses how longe that he hath had the seid lyveloode that I am born to; and under what forme, and what waste there hathe be done be him, to make sicke restitution as the soule may be eased, and that I may have cause to pray therefore.)

In a later draft the last two paragraphs are omitted, and the following substituted for them.

Item, my seyde fader outelawed me for the sum of xl.li. or ever y wyste thereof, the which y wolde not had bene done for a M^l.li. and yet he had certeyn plate and stuffe of myn, which ys remembred in myn owne fadres testament, to the valed of ij^o. li. or more.

Item, he hath kepte fro me sith my seyde moder disessed, ayenste all gode consyence or tytylle of lawe, ij. maneres, Oxendon and Hamthwayte, and they amounte yerely a xlvj.li. Sum yn xiiii. yere, vj^o. xliiij. li.

Item, he hath kepte fro me as longe xx. li. yerely of the maner of Wyghton, the whych he promysed me to

have had at the dysseſſe of my ſeyde modyr, whereof y had the furſte yere xv.li. at hys commandement, payed by the handys of hys ſervaunte Howes: the reſydw hereof draweth a ij^o. lxxv.li.

Item, there ys loſte of myn enherytaunce by my ſeyde faders defaute, viij.li. in Caſtelcombe and xl. s. in Bentley; the purchaſe hereof, after xx^u wyntres purchaſe, amounteth ij^o. li.

Item, he hath done grete waſte in my ſeyde enherytaunce, the whych canne not be reſtored wyth a M^l.li., and he hath had it li.j. yer and more, and in alle that tyme never dyd it gode, but waſtyd it. And to conceyve, forthir, ſith my ſeyde modyr dyſſeſſyd; hath had it ayenſte alle gode conſcyence, ſavynge by myn agrement,¹⁸ for the gode wyll that y had to hym, the whych gode wyll meſemeth wolde be concydered.

Then follows his general Bill of Charges againſt the eſtate of Faſtolf for theſe damages and loſſes:

In the firſte yere that my fader Faſtolf was maried to my moder he ſolde me for v^o. marcs, withoute any titill or right, thorough which ſale as in this worlde my perſone was diſfigured for ever. Wherfor I clayme the ſeid ſome of v^o. marks, without the hurt of my diſfiguryng.

Item, he bought me ayene; ſo he bought me and ſoilde me as a beſte, ayens al ryght and lawe, to myn hurt more than M^l. marks.

Item, be a deceit he kept from me xxx^u yeres togedir and more xl.li. worthe of lyveloode, in a toune called Wyghton undir the Wolde, in Yorkſhire, for the whiche I clayme reſtitution by the ſaide time of xij^o.li. withoute the ruynote of my lyvelode.

Item, he kept fro me, ayens all lawe and right, two manoirs, that is to ſay, Oxendon and Hamthwayte, xv. yeres, the which ar worth xlvj.li. in yerely value, for the which I aſke to have vj^o.iiij^x.x.li.

¹⁸This paſſage proves that Stephen Scrope had, as previously ſuggeſted, confirmed the ſettlement made by his mother on Faſtolf in 1410 of a life-intereſt in theſe eſtates.

Item, for plate and stuffe of myn, the which is specified in myn fadris testament to me bequethed, and my seide fader Fastolf had it ever to his use, I aske restitution thereof as lawe and right requireth.

Item, for the strop and waste of my enheritaunce, which is v^o. marks worthe by yere, the which was in the handes of my seide fader liij. yeres. It cannot be repaired with M^l. marks.

Fastolf, it appears to the "piteous complaint" of Scrope when originally sent to him, but of course not in a satisfactory manner; on which the following further replication was drawn up by the unhappy sufferer:

Here by the commandments of my fader Fastolf, foloweth my replcations:—

First, where it is seyde that I was nat solde be my fader, Fastolfe, to the Justice William Gascoyne, but at the instance, plesir, and grete prayer of my lady my moder, to that, saving the displesir of me seyde fader, I have herd her sey the contrarie. Neverthelesse mesemeth that neyther he ne she had noon auctorite to selle me; wherfor I conceyve that I was wrongfully doon to. As to the remanent of that answer, I can, be my seyde faderes, leve, replie better be mouth than be writing.

As to the second answer, touching the repayments to the seide Justice Willyam Gascoyne for me, saving my seyde faderys displesir, I suppose it shal be founde be the reporte of some jentilmen of Yorkeshyre, that the summes were nat so grete as it is rehersed in the seyde seconde answer. Natwithstanding how that ever it were, I had the soor and felt the hurte. And where it is seyde that my seyde fader was nat bounden to finde me in my youthe, the lawe knowe I nat, but wel I wote, that if a woman the which is to marry have many chylder, it is often seen that men be daungerous (afraid) to take sych women for the charge of theyre childer. As to the remanent of that answer I can, be my seyde faderes leve, (replie) thereto better be mouth than be writing.

As to the iij. answer, my seyde fader seith be promysed me never to make me yerely worth iij. times the lordship of Wyghton, saving the displesir of his good faderhode, I can wel telle the place where it was seyde, that is to say, in a gardin in the parke of Alausom. As to the remanent of that answer I can, be my seide faderis leve, repleye thereto better be mouth than be writing.

As to the iij. answer, I sey nat in my iiij. article that my seyde fader wrote to me to com to hym, ne desyred me to leve my lorde of Gloucestris servyse, whoos soule God assoyle. But I have tolde the causes of all in my iij. article and in the iij. replication. As to the remanent of that answer I can, be the sevde licence, replie thereto better be mouth than be wryting.

As to the v. answer, I sey that I rehersed noo thing in my v. article but as trouthe was and is, save my seyde fader may saye as it pleseth hym. The remanent of that answer I shal repleye thereto be mouth, be my seide faderes leve.

As to the vj. answer, where it is seyde, as it pleseth my seyde fader, that myn outrageousenes caused moche thing, I have, mesemeth, answered thereto in the iij. replication. And where it is seyde I sholde suffre myn owne faderes feffes (to) selle certeyne of myn owne faderes lyfelood, every reasonable man may conceyve that the suffraunce most nedes a been, for I was at that time but x or xij. yere of age, and fer loygned froo th(ere) be sevde fader Fastolf thorough hys forseide sale made to the Justice William Gascoyne, as at that tyme my seyde fader ded with me as it plesed hym. To the remanent shall I repleye be mouth, and he wil geve me leve.

As to the vij. answer, I sey that lyvelode coude I noon gete, to I woold me maryed, and married coude I nat be withoute that I made streyte bondes, what may be supposed than myght folwe thereof, etc. But and it had plesed me seyde fader to avaunced me to lifelode, or that I had sette me to maryage, I wolde have trosted to God, have

maryed to more avyse that I ded, and to a kept me oute of the daungeres that I have ben in. And to the remanent of that answer I can replie be mouth, if my seyde fader wille geve me leve.

As to the viij. answer, where there is thoughte moch unkindenes in me symple persone; I dar saufelye seye, and my seyde fader had a son of his owne body begeten, he shold nat have had better wyll to adoon hym servyse and plesir than I had. To the surplus of that answer, be the license aforeseyde, I can well replie be mouth.

As to the ix. answer, where my seyde fader seyth that he is enheryted during his lyfe as wele as I, I wene nat soo: for I am com of the blode and he but be gifted of gentilnes. And where it is seyde that my seyde lady and moder wold have yoven it to hym in fee, I have herde her sey the contrarie, and soo hath oother that yet lyveth moo than I. And where it is seyde that I have confermed it to my seyde fader hys lyfe, saving his displesir, than mesemeth I ought the better to have hys gode grace, and nat to be rebuked for my piteous complent. For it is now more than v. yere sen my seyde lady my foder discesed, whoos soul God of hys hygh mercy assoile.¹⁷ Soo thorough that confirmation he had everi yere sythen v°. marke, the whych amounteth ij^m. and v°. marke. To the surplus of that answer I can wel replie, be my seyde faderes leve.

If I have seyde in thees foreseyde replications oother wyse than reson and conscience woold of negligence, simplenes, or unkonnyng, I aske pardon and grace. And where it semeth to my seide fader that I sholde nat akepte thees articles soo longe in my breste; forsooth be my wille I wold a kepte theym longer, for I seyde at all tymes that the hye witte and the grete trouth and gentilnesse of my seyde fader knewe full wele what was for to

¹⁷This fixes the date of this paper 1452, the Lady Millicent having died in 1466.

do: for an oolde proverb seyth, a wyse man be the halfe tale wote what the hoole tale meneth.

As to my x. article, the whych I sente a parte be Moaster Clement Denston, I have noon answeare.

{Endorsed)—Escriptz de moy a mon pere F.

It seems likely that Stephen Scrope got no more redress in the end from Fastolf's executors for the losses he so plaintively catalogues than he had from the knight himself while living. His circumstances, however, must have improved somewhat on his at length possession, being above the age of sixty, of his maternal estates.

Among the evidences of the straits to which he was driven by his embarrassments are a bond for 400 marks to John Dereward, dated 1448, and a revisionary grant of a message in Castle Combe to John Whitehorne, clothier, dated 1457, to take effect after the death of Fastolf."

APPENDIX B.

EDMUND TYLNEY, MASTER OF REVELS

That the reader may understand the *absolute despotism* of the Master of the Revels, under the Queen and the Lord Chamberlain, I give in full the following most interesting and important historical document.²

A NEW DOCUMENT REGARDING THE AUTHORITY OF THE MASTER OF THE REVELS OVER PLAY-MAKERS, PLAYS AND PLAYERS IN 1581

I send for insertion in the next volume of "The Shakespeare Society's Papers" what I am entitled to call one of the most curious documents connected with the history of our stage, only two or three years before our great dramatist became a writer for and an actor upon it. Moreover, it is quite a novelty, no hint for its existence being anywhere given. It was communicated to me by Mr. Palmer, of the Rolls' Chapel, a short time since, as being on the patent roll³ and as unknown to Mr. Payne Collier when he published his "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," in 1831.

It is entitled *Commissio specialis pro Edo. Tylney, Ar. Magistro Revellorum*, and it will be recollected that Edmund Tylney had been appointed Master of the Revels in July, 1579; the document before me bears date 24th December, in the 24th year of Elizabeth; i. e., the day before Christmas, 1581, for the 24th year of her reign did not end until 16th November, 1582. Tylney had therefore been only a short time in office when he was entrusted

²*The Shakespeare Society Paper*, Vol. III, p. 1, 1847.

³Rot. Paten. de diversis annis tempore R. Elizabeth.

with the extraordinary powers communicated to him by this patent.

It will be remarked also that it preceded the formation of the company of "the Queen's Players," which Howes, in his continuation of Stow's *Annals*, informs us consisted of twelve performers, including Robert Wilson and Richard Tarlton. Sir Francis Walsingham is said to have been instrumental in the selection of the actors; and we know, on the authority of the Accounts of the Expenses of the Revels, that Tylney was sent for by "Mr. Secretary" on 10th March, 1582, "to chuse out a company of Players for her Majesty."

That this important theatrical event was contemplated when the subjoined instrument was placed in the hands of Tylney, we need have little doubt: it must, in fact, have been preparatory to it; and anything more arbitrary, or, as we should now call it, unconstitutional, was perhaps never heard of. It seems framed in some degree upon the model of the unrestricted powers, at much earlier dates, given to the Master of the Children of the Chapel, &c., to take boys from the choirs of any cathedrals or churches, in order that they might be employed in the Chapel Royal. Tylney warrant, however, does not apply to mere singing boys, but to grown men, artificers, actors, and dramatists; and, as will be seen, it is much larger and more imperative in the authority it conveys.

For the purposes of the Revels at Court for the amusement of the Queen, it enables Tylney, or his deputy, in the first place to command the services of any painters, embroiderers, tailors, property-makers, &c., he thought fit, and, in case of refusal or neglect, to commit them during his pleasure "without bail or mainprise"; so that they had no remedy but to submit. But the most remarkable part of the Patent comes afterwards where the same

unprecedented power is given to Tylney, or his deputy, to order all players of comedies, tragedies, or interludes, "with their playmakers," to come before him to recite such performances as they were in a condition to represent. Thus actors and poets were put as much at the mercy of Tylney and his deputy as the commonest workmen he employed; for, if they did not obey his orders, he was to commit them, or any of them, "without bail or main-prize," for an indefinite period, either to enforce compliance, or to punish them for being refractory in the execution of his commands.

Connected with this duty was a power conveyed to Tylney, at his discretion, to reform, or entirely suppress, any of the "playing places" the actors were in the habit of employing for their exhibitions. Nothing therefore can be more unqualified than the authority given to the Master of the Revels, or his deputy, in all matters relating to the drama and stage in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth. The Patent itself is in these terms, the only difference being that I have printed it in words at length, avoiding legal abbreviations, and that I have divided into separate paragraphs, according to the subjects treated, what in the original is in one unbroken mass.

THOMAS EDLYNE TOMLINS.

Islington, 9th April, 1847.

"ELIZABETH BY THE GRACE OF GOD, &C. TO
ALL MANNER OUR JUSTICES, MAIORS,
SHERIFFES, BAYLIFFES, CONSTABLES, AND
ALL OTHER OUR OFFICERS, MINISTERS,
TRUE LIEGE MEN AND SUBJECTS, AND TO
EVERY OF THEM GREETINGE.

"We lett you witt, that We have authorized licensed
and commanded, and by these presentes do authorise-

licence and commaunde our Welbeloved Edmunde Tylney Esquire, Maister of our Revells, aswell to take and retaine for us and in our Name at all tymes from hensforth, and in all places within this our Realme of England, as well within Franchises and Liberties as without, at competent Wages, aswell all suche and as many Painters, Imbroderers, Taylors, Cappers, Haberdashers, Joyners, Carvers, Glasiers, Armorers, Basketmakers, Skinners, Sadlers, Waggen Makers, Plaisterers, Fethermakers, as all other Propertie makers and conninge Artificers and Laborers whatsoever, as our said Servant or his assigne, bearers hereof, shall thinke necessaire and requisite for the speedie workinge and fynisheinge of any exploite, workmanshippe, or peece of service that shall at any tyme hereafter belonge to our saide office of the Revells, as also to take at price reasonable, in all places within our said Realme of England, as well within Franchises and Liberties as without, any kinde or kindes of stuffe, Ware, or Merchandise, Woode, or Coale, or other Fewell, Tymber, Wainscott, Boarde, Lathe, Nails, Bricke, Tile, Leade, Iron, Wier, and all other necessities for our said workes of the said office of our Revells, as he the said Edmunde or his assigne shall thinke behoofefull and expedient from tyme to tyme for our said service in the said office of the Revells. Together with all cariages for the same, both by Land and by Water, as the case shall require.

“And furthermore, we have by these presents authorised and commaunded the said Edmunde Tylney, that in case any person or persons, whatsoever they be, will obstinately disobey and refuse from hensforth to accomplishe and obey our commaundement and pleasure in that behalfe, or withdrawe themselves from any of our said Workes, upon warninge to them or any of them

giuen by the saide Edmunde Tylney, or by his sufficient Deputie in that behalfe to be named, appointed for their diligent attendance and workmanship upon the said workes or devises, as to their naturall dutie and alleigence apperteineth, that then it shalbe lawfull unto the same Edmund Tilney, or his Deputie for the tyme beinge, to attache the partie or parties so offendinge, and him or them to commyt to warde, there to remaine, without baile or maineprise, until such tyme as the saide Edmunde, or his Deputie, shall thinke the tyme of his or their imprisonment to be punishment sufficient for his or their saide offence in that behalfe; and that done, to enlarge him or them, so beinge imprisoned, at their full Libertie, without any Losse, Penaltie, Forfaiture, or other damage in that behalfe to be susteined or borne by the saide Edmunde Tilney, or his said Deputie.

“And also, if any person or persons, beinge taken into our said workes of the said office of our Revells, beinge arrested, comminge or goinge to or from our saide Workes of our said office of our Revells, at the sute of any person or persons, then the said Edminde Tilney, by vertue and authoritie thereof, to enlarge him or them, as by our speciall protection, duringe the tyme of our said workes.

“And also, if any person or persons, beinge reteyned in our said works of our said office of Revells, have taken any manner of taske worke, beinge bounde to finishe the same by a certen day, shall not runne into any manner of forfeiture or penaltie for breakinge of his day, so that he or they, ymmediately after the fynishinge of our said workes, indevor him or themselves to fynishe the saide taske worke.

“And furthermore, also, we have and doe by these presents authorise and commaunde our said Servant,

Edmunde Tilney, Maister of our said Revells, by himselfe or his sufficient Deputie or Deputies, to warne, commaunde, and appointe, in all places within this our Realme of England, as well within Franchises and Liberties as without, all and every plaier or plaiers, with their playmakers, either belonginge to any Noble Man, or otherwise, bearinge the Name or Names of usinge the Facultie of Playmakers, or Plaiers of Comedies, Trajedyes, Enterludes, or what other Showes soever, from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes, to appeare before him, with all suche Plaies, Tragedies, Comedies, or Showes as they shall have in readines, or meane to sett forth, and them to presente and recite before our said Servant, or his sufficient Deputie, whom wee ordeyne, appointe, and authorise by these presentes of all suche Showes, Plaies, Plaiers, and Playmakers, together with their playinge places, to order and reforme, auctourise and put downe, as shalbe thought meete or unmeete unto himselfe, or his said Deputie, in that behalfe.

“And also, likewise, we have by these presentes authorised and commaunded the said Edmunde Tylney, that in case if any of them, whatsoever they bee, will obstinatelie refuse, upon warninge unto them given by the said Edmunde, or his sufficient Deputie, to accomplishe and obey our commaundement in this behalfe, then it shalbe lawful to the saide Edmunde, or his sufficient Deputie, to attache the partie or parties so offendinge, and him or them to commytt to Warde, to remayne, without bayle or mayneprise, untill suche tyme as the same Edmunde Tylney, or his sufficient Deputie, shall thinke the tyme of his or their ymprisonment to be punishment sufficient for his or their said offence in that behalfe; and that done, to enlarge him or them so beinge imprisoned at their plaine Libertie, without any losse,

penaltie, forfeiture, or other Daunger in this behalfe to be susteyned or borne by the said Edmunde Tylney, or his Deputie, any Acte, Statute, Ordinance, or Provision heretofore had or made, to the contrarie hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

“Wherefore we will and commaunde you, and every of you, that unto the said Edmunde Tylney, or his sufficient Deputie, bearer hereof, in the due execution of this our authoritie and comaundement ye be aydinge, supportinge, and assistinge from tyme to tyme, as the case shall require, as you and every of you tender our pleasure, and will answer to the contrarie at your uttermost perills. In Witnesse whereof, &c., Witnes our selfe at Westm. the xxiiijth day of December, in the xxiiijth yere of our Raigne.

Per Bre. de Privato Sigillo.

APPENDIX C.

The following list shows some of the lands owned by the Cooke's, lords of Hartshill, and also Inscriptions in the Church of Ansley adjoining, from Bartlett's *Manduessedum Romanorum*.

One messuage and one cottage, wherein Thomas Hewet dwelt, and Littlefield, Nurselfield, divided into two parts, Ferney croft, Johns croft, the Leyes, Broom close, the Paddoks, Aldermore, three closes called Rideings, the herbage and weeding of Hasellmore and Hillmore.

William Migh the younger, 1 messuage, 1 croft, Cinder hill, the Middlefield or Cornfield divided, the Newes, the Nether meadow, the Furmoore meadow, the Leys, the Ridmore, and the Furmoore, and the herbage and weeding of a spring wood called the Moore.

Thomas Holt, a grist milne, a garden and orchard, the miln dam, and the stream fishing, the miln holm, the hither home, and the farther home.

John Ward, 1 messuage, 1 little croft, the Walnut yard, the Town croft, the Nine Lands, the Wardshill as divided, the Pinfold croft, and the Mill lane end.

Edmund Harris, 1 messuage, the Town croft, the Hall croft, or Tophills, the Pinfold croft, the Mill lane end, and the Pittle or Pingle.

Ralph Parker, the Marlepit flat, a Pingle in the Moore meadow, the weedings of two orchards, the Moore corner, the Moore belonging to the Brent house, the Moore meadow, a Moore with the privilege of pasturing called Ground Moore meadow, with the dor wast, and green goods, Yard End an orchard near the Hollows the new taken in in two parts.

Henry Stanley, its hay, one garden, one yard, the Rails

flat, Alcots flat or 12 lands, the Wardell, the Hemp yard, the Sope meadow.

William Remington, one messuage, one garden, one orchard, the Pinfold croft, the great Wardell, the Lease, the Moore, the Caldwell as it is divided, the Webland least, the Webland, Eaton lane end, and the Slade meadow.

R. Remington, one cottage, one garden, the Wardell, the Wardell croft, the Hill close, the Bullmear meadow, one piece of meadow in Slade meadow, the herbage and weedings in Allen's moore.

John Wood, one messuage, one orchard, one workhouse, one stable, one garden and orchard, the Yard's end close.

John Alcock vel Alcot, one messuage, one orchard, one garden, one pasture called the Yard, the Hillfield, the Woolvey Oakfield, the Conygree, Eatonlane end, the Moor meadow.

Joyce Parker, one messuage, one orchard, one garden, one little orchard, and oxhouse yew, one close called the Yard, the Town croft, the Nine Lands.

One cottage and backside, the Six Lands. One cottage and backside called Pinfold croft. One little meadow, half Gunne meadow, the new taken in, the Ryding, the Barn yard.

Robert Burbage, one messuage, one barn, one garden, one orchard, one little yard, the Yard's end croft, the Slade close, and one piece of meadow, the Dearefbank, Burbridge's Moore meadow, the herbage and weeding of Burbridge's Moore wood.

William Might's, one messuage, one stable, one garden, one orchard, the Hoggs Eyon divided, the Falls being two closes, the great Wardell, the upper Wardell, and nether Wardell, the Bednells, the Broom close, the Pyngle, the Moore meadow, Might's Moore, half the Gun meadow.

Alexander Weston, one messuage, one stable, one garden, one barn, one orchard, the Jumbell Flatt or Mill-lane end, one piece of arable land called the Voxhill close, the house and croft, Weston's key corner in two pieces, Weston's Slade mill, the Hookes, the Heath, the nether Slade, the herbage and weedings of Weston's Moore.

Richard Bentley, one cottage, one garden called the Chappell.

Thomas Holt, one messuage called Wolbey houst, one barne, one stable yard and orchard, one croft and barn, Wolvey field, the Barkers be two several fields, three tostes called the Newso, the nether mead sometime parcel of Barkers, the middle mead, the Pingle, and the Sweet Moore.

Inscriptions in the Church.*

5. At the bottom of the church:**

"Hic jacet Franciscus Bacon,
Sacrae Theologiæ
Professor,
Eccl. Lichfeld
Præbendarius,
Hujus Eccl. Vicar.
Obiit an. Dom.
MDCLXXXII.
annoque æt LXXXIV."

Saint John Twycross, heretofore vicar of Ansley (prior to the year 1606) gave 20 marks to be laid out in the purchase of land, the yearly produce of which was to be expended as follows: one moiety or half part to be dis-

**Note*—Of these inscriptions Nos. 1 and 2 were in Dugdale's edition 1f 1656; 3, 4, 6, were added by Dr. Thomas; the others by Mr. Bartlett.

***Note*—This epitaph is entirely gone, stone and all.

tributed amongst the poor of Ansley yearly, by the trustees, within eight days of Christmas or Easter; the other moiety in amending and repairing the highways most needful to be repaired; which sum being encreased by the parish to £17 was laid out in the purchase of an estate, now rented at £10 *per ann.*

Shakespeare also bequeathed the sum of £3 at what time is unknown: the interest to be given yearly to the poor of Ansley in bread.

The sum of 6s. 8d. yearly was also charged upon a small cottage and croft, late in the occupation of George Izon, to find bell-ropes for the church-bells; but by whom is not now known; which cottage and croft, about 1765, was purchased of the parish by the late John Ludford, Esq., for £30; which, together with Shakespeare's and Oughton's gifts, as above mentioned, was expended in rebuilding the poors' houses, and the income is now paid by the overseers to the poor.

The trustees of all the above charities (except Mr. Stratford's) at the time of the donation returns were: John Ludford, Esq., John Barber, Thomas Cheshire, Richard Harrison, John Wagstaff, John Johnson, William Topp, Robert Harrison.

ANSLEY CHURCH.

Incumbentes, & tempora institutions.

Elizabetha R. Angl. Robert Coope cler. XII Jul. 1561, (V. p. r.) H. Hondys) postea deprivatus. Thomas Arnfeild cler. XXVII Jul. 1574. Rob. Cope II Mart. 1575. Will. Foxe cler. XXII Dec. 1591. Jac. Bush cler. X. Junii, 1600.

Rich. Chamberlain, arm. Rex. Francis Bacon, A. M. XIII Sept. 1625. Francis Bacon, XIV Jan. 1638, ob. 1682.*

*NOTE.—In the parish register I find the following note: This book was returned by William Wilson late register of Ansley to me, Francis Bacon Vicar, of Ansley, April 24, 1661. This William Wilson had acted as register from the Act's taking place by which the late vicar was dispossessed.

No. 12. Extract from the oldest Register of Ansley.
"Compositionem hanc ideo hic inserui quia scriptum
chartaceum (quod habui solum) ægre potuit ad posteri-
tatem dedi. F. Bacon, V. Anslei, 1645."

Thomas Shakespear was one of the church wardens
in 1633. The same who bequeathed £3 yearly to the
poor of Ansley. B. B.

No. 13. Extract from the oldest Register of Ansley, on
the back of the leaf where the Composition is transcribed.

These records were searche out, and heare inserted
the like occasion shall hereafter happen; for the yearly
pencon, with all the arrears, were by Mr. Robinson, re-
ceiver of the tenths, demanded as payable by the church-
wardens of Ansley, being mistaken for Ansley, or
Alvesley. Francis Bacon, Vic'lbm, March 9, 1649.

Gesta Grayorum:

OR, THE

HISTORY

Of the High and mighty PRINCE,

HENRY

Prince of Purpoole, Arch-Duke of Stapulia and Bernardia, Duke of High and Nether Holborn, Marquis of St. Giles and Tottenham, Count Palatine of Bloomsbury and Clerkenwell, Great Lord of the Cantons of Islington, Kentish-Town, Paddington and Knights-bridge, Knight of the most Heroical Order of the Helmet, and Sovereign of the Same;

Who Reigned and Died, *A.D.* 1594.

TOGETHER WITH

A Masque, as it was presented (by His Highness's Command) for the Entertainment of *Q. ELIZABETH*; who, with the Nobles of both Courts, was present thereat.

LONDON, Printed for W. Canning, at his Shop in the Temple-Cloysters, MDCLXXXVIII.

Price, one Shilling.

c

To The Most Honourable
Matthew Smyth, Esq.
Comptroller
Of The
Honourable Society
Of The
Inner Temple

Sir,

The State of Purpoole (so long obscured in itself) could no otherwise express its Grandeur, but by shewing to Posterity what it was: This moved those ingenious Gentlemen to leave to succeeding Times the Memory of those Actions, which they themselves had done; not for the vain Air of Popularity, but generously to give an Example, which others might desire to follow.

According they have by this History, set forth their Actions, which seem to be writ with the same Gallentry of Spirit as they were done.

The Language itself is all that Age could afford; which allowing something for the Modern Dress and Words in Fashion, is not beneath any we have now: It was for that Reason thought necessary.

THE EPISTOLE DEDICATORY.

Not to clip anything; which, though it may seem odd, yet naturally begets a Veneration, upon Account of its Antiquity.

What more could they have wished, than to have found a Patron, worthy the protecting the Memory of such a Prince? And what more than they requiring than the Safety of your Patronage.

It was Fortune, undoubtedly, that reserved it for this happy Opportunity of coming forth under your Protection.

That first Alliance, which ever was betwixt your States seems to ask it of you, as the only Person in whom are revived the ancient Honours of both Houses. It was certainly a public Sence of the same personal Abilities (which made that Prince so conspicuous) that gives us all a public View of those Virtues, so much admired in private.

Sir, 'tis for these Reasons humbly offered to you, presuming upon favourable Acceptance of that which naturally falls under your Care.

May Time perfect the Character, already so well begun, that Posterity may bear you equal, if not greater than the Prince of Purpoole.

I am, Sir,
Your Honour's
Most Obedient Servant,

W. C.

GESTA GRAYORUM,
OR,
THE HISTORY OF THE HIGH AND MIGHTY
PRINCE HENRY,

Prince of PURPOOLE, Arch Duke of STAPULIA and BERNARDIA, Duke of HIGH and NETHER HOLBORN, Marquis of ST. GILES and TOTTENHAM, Count Palatine of BLOOMSBURY and CLERKENWELL, Great Lord of the Cantons of ISLINGTON, KENTISH TOWN, PADDINGTON, and KNIGHTS-BRIDGE of the Most Heroical Order of the HELMET, and Sovereign of the same: who reigned and died A. D. 1594.—Together with a Masque, as it was presented (by his Highness's command) for the Entertainment of Q. ELIZABETH, who, with the Nobles of both Courts, was present thereat. In two Parts.¹

The great number of gallant Gentlemen that Gray's Inn afforded at Ordinary Revels, betwixt All-Hollantide and Christmas, exceeding therein the rest of the Houses of Court, gave occasion to some well-wishers of our sports, and favourers of our credit, to wish an head answerable to so noble a body, and a leader to so gallant a company: which motion was more willingly hearkened

¹ The first part of this tract was printed in 1688 for W. Canning, at his shop in the Temple Cloysters. The publisher was Mr. Henry Keepe, who published the Monuments of Westminster. The second part was first published in the former edition of these Progresses from a MS. then in the editor's possession, and afterwards given to Mr. Gough.

unto, in regard that such pass-times had been intermitted by the space of three or four years, by reason of sickness and discontinuances.

After many consultations had hereupon by the youths and others that were most forward herein, at length, about the 12th of December, with the consent and assistance of the Readers and Ancients, it was determined, that there should be elected a Prince of Purpoole, to govern our state for the time; which was intended to be for the credit of Gray's Inn, and rather to be performed by witty inventions than chargeable expences.

Whereupon, they presently made choice of one Mr. Henry Holmes, a Norfolk gentleman, who was thought to be accomplished with all good parts, fit for so great a dignity; and was also a very proper man of personage, and very active in dancing and revelling.

Then was his Privy Council assigned him, to advise of state-matters, and the government of his dominions: his lodging also was provided according to state; as the Presence Chamber, and the Council Chamber. Also all Officers of State, of the Law, and of the Household. There were also appointed Gentlemen Pensioners to attend on his person, and a guard, with their Captain, for his defence.

The next thing thought upon, as most necessary, was, provision of Treasure, for the support of his state and dignity. To this purpose, there was granted a benevolence by those that were then in his Court abiding: and for those that were not in the House, there were letters directed to them, in nature of Privy Seals, to enjoin them, not only to be present, and give their attendance at his Court; but also, that they should contribute to the defraying of so great a charge, as was guessed to be requisite for the performance of so great intendments.

The Form of the Privy Seals directed to the foreigners,
upon occasion as is aforesaid:

“Your friends of the Society of Gray’s Inn now residing there, have thought good to elect a Prince, to govern the state of the Signiory, now by discontinuance much impaired in the ancient honour where in it hath excelled all other of like dignity. These are therefore, in the name of the said Prince, to require you forthwith to resort to the Court there holden, to assist the proceedings with your person; and withal, upon the receipt hereof, to make contribution of such benevolence as may express your good affection to the State, and be answerable to your quality. We have appointed our well-beloved Edward Jones our foreign collector, who shall attend you by himself, or by his deputy.

Dated at our Court at Graya,
the 13th of December, 1594.

Your loving friend,
GRAY’S-INN.”

If, upon receipt of these letters, they returned answer again, that they would be present in person at our sports, as divers did, not taking notice of the further meaning therein expressed, they were served with an *alias*, as followeth:

“To our trusty and well-beloved W. B. at L. give these.

“Whereas, upon our former letters to you, which required your personal appearance and contribution, you have returned us answer that you will be present, without satisfying the residue of the contents for the benevolence: these are therefore to will and require you, forthwith, upon the receipt hereof, to send for your part, such supply by this bearer, as to you, for the defraying so great a charge, shall seem convenient: and herein you

shall perform a duty to the House, and avoid that ill opinion which some ungentlemanly spirits have purchased by their uncivil answers to our letters directed to them, whose demeanor shall be laid to their charge when time serveth; and in the mean time, order shall be taken, that their names and defaults shall be proclaimed in our publick assemblies, to their greate discredit, &c.

Your loving friend, GRAY'S-INN."

By this means the Prince's treasure was well increased; as also by the great bounty of divers honourable favourers of our state, that imparted their liberality, to the setting forward of our intended pass-times. Amongst the rest, the Right Honourable Sir William Cecill, Knight, Lord Treasurer of England, being of our Society, deserved honourable remembrance, for his liberal and noble mindfulness of us, and our State; who, undesired, sent to the Prince, as a token of his Lordship's favour, £10, and a purse of fine rich needle-work.

When all these things sorted so well to our desires, and that there was good hope of effecting that that was taken in hand, there was dispatched from our State a messenger to our ancient allied friend the Inner Temple, that they might be acquainted with our proceedings, and also to be invited to participate of our honour; which to them was most acceptable, as by the process of their letters and ours, mutually sent, may appear.

The Copies of the Letters that passed betwixt the two
most flourishing Estates

of the *Grayans Templarians*.

“To the most Honourable and Prudent, the Governors,
Assistants, and Society

of the *Inner Temple*.

“Most Grave and Noble,

“We have, upon good consideration, made choice of
a Prince, to be predominant in our State of *Purpoole*,
for some important causes that require an head, or leader:
and as we have ever had great cause, by the warrant of
experience, to assure ourselves of your unfeigned love
and amity, so we are, upon this occasion, and in the
name of our Prince elect, to pray you, that it may con-
tinue; and in demonstration thereof, that you will be
pleased to assist us with your counsel, in the person of
an Ambassador, that may be resident here amongst us,
and be a minister of correspondence between us, and to
advise of such affairs, as the effects whereof, we hope,
shall sort to the benefit of both our estates. And so, being
ready to requite you with all good offices, we leave you
to the protection of the Almighty.

“Your most loving friend and ally,

“GRAY’S-INN.

“Dated at our Court of Graya, this 14th of
December, 1594.”

“To the most Honourable State of the *Grayans*.

“Right Honourable, and most firmly United,

“If our deserts were any way answerable to the great expectation of your good proceedings, we might with more boldness accomplish the request of your kind letters, whereby it pleaseth you to interest us in the honour of your actions; which we cannot but acknowledge for a great courtesie and kindness (a thing proper to you, in all your courses and endeavours), and repute it a great honour intended towards ourselves: in respect whereof we yield with all good will, to that which your honourable letters import; as your kindness, and the bond of our ancient amity and league, requireth and deserveth. Your assured friend,
The State of Templaria.”

“From *Templaria*, the 18th of
December, 1594.

The Order of the Prince of *Purpoole's* Proceedings, with his Officers and Attendants, at his honourable Inthronization; which was likewise observed in all his Solemn Marches on Grands Days, and like occasions; which place every Officer did duly attend, during the Reign of His Highness's Government.

A Marshal.

A Marshal.

Trumpets.

Trumpets.

Pursuevant at Arms, *Layne*.

Townsmen in the Prince's Yeomen of the Guard, three
Livery, with halberts. couples.

Captain of the Guard, *Grimes*.

Baron of the Grand Port, *Dudley*, Baron of the Petty Port, *Williams*.

Baron of the Base Port, *Grante*, Baron of the New Port, *Lovel*.

Gentlemen for Entertainment, three couples, *Wentworth, Zukendeu, Binge, &c.* Gentlemen for Entertainment, three couples, *Forrest*.

Lieutenant of the Pensioners, *Tonstal*.

Gentlemen Pensioners, twelve couples, *viz.*

<i>Lawson.</i>	<i>Rotts.</i>	<i>Davison.</i>
<i>Devereux.</i>	<i>Anderson.</i>	
<i>Stapleton.</i>	<i>Glascott.</i>	<i>cum reliquis.</i>
<i>Daniel.</i>	<i>Elken.</i>	

Chief Ranger, and Master of the Game, *Forrest*.

Master of the Revels, *Lambert*, Lord Chief Justice of the Prince's Bench, *Crew*.

Master of the Revellers, *Tevery*, Master of the Ordnance, *Fitz-Williams*.

Captain of the Pensioners, *Cooke*, Lieutenant of the Tower, *Lloyd*.

Sewer, *Archer*, Master of the Jewel-house, *Darlen*.

Carver, *Moseley*, Treasurer of the Household, *Smith*.

Cup-bearer, *Painter*, Knight Marshal, *Bell*.

Groom Porter, *Bennet*, Master of the Wardrobe, *Conney*.

Sheriff, *Leach*, Comptroller of the Household, *Bouthe*.

Clerk of the Council, *Jones*.

Clerk of the Parliament.

Clerk of the Crown,

Downes.

Orator, *Heke*.

Recorder, *Starkey*.

Solicitor, *Dunne*.

Serjeant, *Goldsmith*.

Speaker of the Parliament,
Bellen.

Commissary, *Greenwood*.

Attorney, *Holt*.

Serjeant, *Hitchcombe*.

Master of the Requests,
Faldo.

Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Kitts*.

Master of the Wards and
Idiots, *Ellis*.

Reader, *Cobb*.

Lord Chief Baron of the
Exchequer, *Briggs*.

Master of the Rolls, *Hetlen*.

Lord Chief Baron of the
Common Pleas, *Dam-
porte*.

The Shield of Pegasus, for
the Inner Temple, *Sce-
vington*.

Serjeant at Arms with the
Sword, *Glascott*.

Gentleman Usher, *Paylor*.

Bishop of St. Giles in the
Fields, *Dandy*.

Steward of the Household,
Smith.

Lord Warden of the Four
Ports, *Damporte*.

Secretary of State, *Jones*.

Lord Admiral, *Cecill (Rich-
ard)*.

Lord Treasurer, *Morrey*.

Lord Great Chamberlain,
Southworth.

Lord High Constable.

Lord Marshal, *Knaplock*.

Lord Privy Seal, *Lamphew*.

Lord Chamberlain of the
Household, *Markham*.

Lord High Steward,
Kempe.

Lord Chancellor, *Johnson*.

Archbishop of St. Andrew's
in Holborn, *Bush*.

Serjeant at Arms with the
Mace, *Flemming*.

Gentleman Usher, *Chevett*.

The Prince of Purpoole,
Helmes.

A Page of Honour, *Wann-
forde*.

Gentlemen of the Privy
Chamber, six couples.

A Page of Honour, *Butler
(Roger)*.

The Shield of the Griffin, for Gray's-Inn, <i>Wickliffe.</i>	Vice-Chamberlain, <i>Butler</i> (<i>Thomas</i>).
The King at Arms, <i>Perkin-</i> <i>son.</i>	Master of the Horse, <i>Fitz-</i> <i>Hugh.</i>
The Great Shield of the Prince's Arms, <i>Cobley.</i>	Yeomen of the Guards, three couples. Townsmen in Liveries.

The Family and Followers.

Upon the 20th day of December, being St. Thomas's Eve, the Prince, with all his train in order, as above set down, marched from his lodging to the Great Hall: and there took his place in his throne, under a rich cloth of state: his Counsellors and great Lords were placed about him; and before him, below the halfe pace, at a table, sate his learned Council and Lawyers; the rest of the officers and attendants took their proper place, as belonged to their condition.

Then the Trumpets were commanded to sound thrice; which being done, the King at Arms, in his rich surcoat of arms, stood forth before the Prince, and proclaimed his style, as followeth:

“By the sacred laws of arms, and authorized ceremonies of the same (maugre the conceit of any malecontent) I do pronounce my Sovereign Liege Lord Sir Henry, rightfully to be the high and mighty Prince of *Purpoole*, Archduke of *Stapulia* and *Bernardia*, Duke of the *High and Nether Holborn*, Marquis of *St. Giles's* and *Tottenham*, Count *Palatine* of *Bloomsbury* and *Clerkenwell*, Great Lord of the Cantons of *Islington*, &c. Knight of the most honourable Order of the *Helmet*, and Sovereign of the same.”

After that the King at Arms had thus proclaimed his style, the trumpets sounded again, and then entered the Prince's Champion, all in compleat armour, on horse-back, and so came riding round about the fire; and in the midst of the hall stayed, and made his challenge, in these words following:

"If there be any man, of high degree or low, that will say that my Sovereign is not rightly Prince of *Purpoole*, as by his King at Arms right-now hath been proclaimed, I am ready here to maintain, that he lieth as a false traitor; and I do challenge in combat, to fight with him, either now, or at any time or place appointed: and in token hereof I gage my gauntlet, as the Prince's true Knight, and his Champion."

When the Champion had thus made his challenge, he departed. Then the trumpets were commanded to sound, and the King at Arms blazoned the Prince his Highness's arms, as followeth:

"The most mighty Prince of *Purpoole*, &c., beareth his shield of the highest *Jupiter*. In point, a sacred imperial diadem, safely guarded by the helmet of the great goddess *Pallas*, from the violence of darts, bullets, and bolts of *Saturn*, *Momus*, and the *Idiot*; all environed with the ribband of loyalty, having a pendant of the most heroical Order of Knighthood of the *Helmet*; the word hereunto, *Sic virtus honorem*. For his Highness's crest the glorious planet *Sol*, coursing through twelve signs of the Zodiac, on a celestial globe, moved upon two poles *Arctick* and *Antartick*; with this motto, *Dum totum peregraverit orbem*. All set upon a *chapew*: *Mars* turned up, *Luna* mantelled, *Sapphire* doubted pearl, supported by two anciently renowned and glorious *Griffyins*, which have been always in league with the honourable *Pegasus*."

The conceit hereof was to shew, that the Prince, whose private arms were three helmets, should defend his honour by virtue, from reprehensions of male-contents, carpers, and fools. The ribband of blue, with an helmet pendant, in imitation of St. George. In his crest, his government for the twelve days of Christmas was resembled to the Sun's passing the twelve signs, though the Prince's course had some odd degrees beyond that time; but he was wholly supported by the *Griffyns*; for *Gray's Inn Gentlemen*, and not the Treasure of the House, was charged. The words, *Sic virtus honorem*, that his virtue should defend his honour, whilst he had run his whole course of dominion, without any either eclipse or retrogradation.

After these things thus done, the Attorney stood up, and made a Speech of gratulation to the Prince; and therein shewed what great happiness was like to ensue, by the election of so noble and vertuous a Prince as then reigned over them; rightly extolling the nobility, vertue, puissance, and the singular perfections of his Sovereign; whereby he took occasion also to move the subjects to be forward to perform all obedience and service to his Excellency; as also to furnish his wants, if so be that it were requisite; and, in a word, perswaded the people, that they were happy in having such a Prince to rule over them; and likewise assured the Prince, that he also was most happy, in having rule over so dutiful and loving subjects, that would not think any thing, were it lands, goods, or life, too dear to be at his Highness's command and service.

The Prince's Highness made again this answer: "That he did acknowledge himself to be deeply bound to their merits; and in that regard did promise, that he would be

a gracious and loving Prince to so well deserving subjects." And concluded with good liking and commendations of their proceedings.

Then the Solicitor, having certain great old books and records lying before him, made this Speech to his Honour, as followeth:

"Most Excellent Prince,

"High superiority and dominion is illustrated and adorned by the humble services of noble and mighty personages: and therefore, amidst the garland of your royalties of your crown, this is a principal flower, that in your provinces and territories, divers mighty and puissant potentates are your homagers and vassals; and, although infinite are your feodaries, which by their tenures do perform royal service to your sacred person, pay huge sums into your treasury and exchequer, and maintain whole legions for the defence of your country: yet some special persons there are charged by their tenures, to do special service at this your glorious inthronization; whose tenures, for their strangeness, are admirable; for their value, inestimable: and for their worthiness, incomparable; the particulars whereof do here appear in your Excellency's records, in the book of *Doomsday*, remaining in your Exchequer, in the 50th and 500th chest there."

The Names of Such Homagers and Tributaries as hold any Signiories, Lordships, Lands, Privileges, or Liberties, under his Honour, and the Tenures and Services belonging to the same, as followeth:

Alfonso de Stapulia, and *Davillo de Bernardia*, hold the arch-dukedoms of *Stapulia* and *Bernardia*, of the

Prince of *Purpoole*, by grand-serjeantry, and castle-guard of the Castles of *Stapulia* and *Bernardia*, and to right and relieve all wants and wrongs of all ladies, matrons, and maids, within the said arch-dutchy; and rendering, on the day of his Excellency's coronation, a coronet of gold, and yearly five hundred millions sterling.

Marotto Marquarillo de Holborn holdeth the manors of *High* and *Nether Holborn* by cornage in *capite* of the Prince of *Purpoole*, and rendering on the day of his Honour's coronation, for every of the Prince's pensioners, one milk-white doe, to be bestowed on them by the Prince, for a favour, or New-year's-night-gift: and rendring yearly two hundred millions sterling.

Lucy Negro, Abbess *de Clerkenwell*, holdeth the nunnery of *Clerkenwell*, with the lands and privileges thereunto belonging, of the Prince of *Purpoole*, by night-service in *Caudá*, and to find a choir of nuns, with burning lamps, to chaunt *Placebo* to the Gentlemen of the Prince's Privy Chamber, on the day of his Excellency's coronation.

Ruffiano de St. Giles's holdeth the town of *St. Giles's* by cornage in *Caudá*, of the Prince of *Purpoole*, and rendring on the day of his Excellency's coronation, two ambling, easie-paced gennets, for the Prince's two pages of honour; and rendring yearly two hundred millions sterling.

Cornelius Combaldus de Tottenham, holdeth the grange of *Tottenham* of the Prince of *Purpoole*, in free and common soccage, by the twenty-fourth part of a night's fee and by rendring to the Master of the Wardrobe so much cunny furr as will serve to line his night-cap, and face a pair of mittins; and yielding yearly four quarters of rye, and threescore double duckets on the feast of *St. Pancras*.

Bartholomeus de Bloomsbury holdeth a thousand hides in *Bloomsbury*, of the Prince of *Purpoole*, by escuage incertain, and rendring on the day of his Excellency's coronation one Amazon, with a ring, to be run at by the Knights of the Prince's band, and the mark to be his trophy that shall be adjudged the bravest courser; and rendring yearly fifty millions sterling.

Amarillo de Paddington holdeth an hundred ox-gangs of land in *Paddington*, of the Prince of *Purpoole*, by petty-serjeantry, that when the Prince maketh a voyage royal against the *Amazons*, to subdue and bring them under, he do find, at his own charges, a thousand men, well furnished with long and strong morris-pikes, black bills, or halberts, with morians on their heads; and rendring yearly four hundred millions sterling.

Bawdwine de Islington holdeth the town of *Islington* of the Prince of *Purpoole*, by grand-serjeantry; and rendring, at the coronation of his Honour, for every maid in *Islington*, continuing a virgin after the age of fourteen years, one hundred thousand millions sterling.

Jordano Sartano de Kentish Town holdeth the Canton of *Kentish Town* of the Prince of *Purpoole*, in tail-general, at the will of the said Prince, as of his manor of *Deep-Inn*, in his province of *Islington* by the Veirge, according to the custom of the said manor; that when any of the Prince's officers or family do resort thither, for change of air, or else variety of diet, as weary of court life, and such provision, he do provide for a mess of the Yeomen of the Guard, or any of the black-guard, or such like inferior officers so coming, eight loins of mutton, which are sound, well-fed, and not infectious; and for every Gentleman Pensioner, or other of good quality, coneyes, pidgeons, chickens, or such dainty mor-

sels. But the said *Jordano* is not bound by his tenure, to boil, roast, or bake the same, or meddle further than the bare delivery of the said cates, and so to leave them to the handling, dressing, and breaking up of themselves: and rendring for a fine to the Prince one thousand five hundred marks.

Markasius Rusticanus, and *Hieronymus Paludensis de Knightsbridge*, do hold the village of *Knightsbridge*, with the appurtenances in *Knightsbridge*, of the Prince of *Purpoole*, by villenage in base tenure, that they two shall jointly find three hundred able and sufficient labouring men, with instruments and tools necessary for the making clean of all channels, sinks, creeks, and gutters, within all the cities of his Highness's dominions; and also shall cleanse and keep clean all and all manner of ponds, pudules, dams, springs, locks, runlets, becks, water gates, sluices, passages, strait entrances, and dangerous quagmires; and also shall repair and mend all common high and low-ways, by laying stones in the pits and naughty places thereof: and also that they do not suffer the afore-said places to go to decay through their default, and lack of looking unto, or neglect of doing their parts and duties therein.

The tenures being thus read by the Solicitor, then were called by their names those homagers that were to perform their services, according to their tenures.

Upon the summons given, *Alphonso de Stapulia*, and *Davillo de Bernardia*, came to the Prince's foot-stool, and offered a coronet, according to their service, and did homage to his Highness in solemn manner, kneeling, according to the order in such cases accustomed. The rest that appeared were deferred to better leisure; and they that made default were fined at great sums, and their defaults recorded.

There was a Parliament intended, and summoned; but by reason that some special officers that were by necessary occasions urged to be absent, without whose presence it could not be performed, it was dashed. And in that point our purpose was frustrate, saving only in two branches of it: the one was a subsidy granted by the Commons of his dominions, towards the support of his Highness's port and sports. The other was, by his gracious, general, and free pardon.

HENRY Prince of *Purpoole*, Arch-Duke of *Stapulia* and *Bernardia*, Duke of *High* and *Nether Holborn*, Marquis of *St. Giles's* and *Tottenham*, Count Palatine of *Bloomsbury* and *Clerkenwell*, Great Lord of the Cantons of *Islington*, *Kentish Town*, *Paddington*, and *Knights-bridge*, Knight of the most heroicall Order of the *Helmet*, and Sovereign of the same; to all and all manner of Persons to whome these Presents shall appertain; Greeting—

“In tender regard, and gracious consideration of the humble affection of our loyal lords and subjects; and by understanding that by often violating of laudable customs, prescriptions, and laws, divers have incurred inevitable and incurable dangers of lands, goods, life, and members, if it be not by our clemency redressed, respected, and pardoned: We therefore, hoping for better obedience and observation of our said laws and customs, do grant and publish this our General and Free Pardon of all dangers, pains, penalties, forfeitures or offences, whereunto and wherewith they are now charged, or chargeable, by reason of mis-government, mis-demeanour, mis-behaviour, or fault, either of commission, omission, or otherwise howsoever or whatsoever.

“It is therefore Our will and pleasure, that all and

every public person and persons, whether they be strangers or naturals, within Our dominions, be by virtue hereof excused, suspended, and discharged from all and all manner of treasons, contempts, offences, trespasses, forcible entries, intrusions, disseisins, torts, wrongs, injuries, over-throws, over-thwartings, cross-bitings, coney-catchings, frauds, conclusions, fictions, fractions, fashions, fancies, or ostentations: also all and all manner of errors, misprisions, mistakings, overtakings, double dealings, combinations, confederacies, conjunctions, oppositions, interpositions, suppositions, and suppositaries: also all and all manner of intermedlance or medlance, privy-searches, routs and riots, incombrances, pluralities, formalities, deformalities, disturbances, duplicities, jeofails in insufficiencies or defects: also all and all manner of sorceries, inchantments, conjurations, spells, or charms: all destruction, obstructions, and constructions: all evasions, invasions, charges, surcharges, discharges, commands, countermands, checks, counterchecks, and counterbuffs: also all and all manner of inhibitions, prohibitions, insurrections, corrections, conspiracies, concavities, coinings, superfluities, washings, clippings, and shavings: all and all manner of multiplications, inanities, installations, destillations, constillations, necromancies, and incantations: all and all manner of mis-feasance, non-feasance, or too much feasance: all attempts or adventures, skirmages, assaults, grapplings, closings, or encounters: all mis-prisonments, or restraints of body or member: and all and all manner of pains and penalties personal or pecuniary whatsoever, committed, made, or done, against our crown and dignity, peace, prerogatives, laws, and customs, which shall not herein hereafter be in some sort expressed, mentioned, intended, or excepted.

“Except, and always fore-prized out of this General and Free Pardon, all and every such person and persons as shall imagine, think, suppose, or speak and utter any false, seditious ignominious, or slanderous words, reports, rumours, or opinions, against the dignity, or his Excellency’s honourable actions, counsels, consultations, or state of the Prince, his court, counsellors, nobles, knights, and officers.

“Except, all such persons as now or hereafter shall be advanced, admitted, or induced to any corporal or personal benefice, administration, charge, or cure, of any manner of personage, and shall not be personally resident, commorant, or incumbent in, at, or upon the whole, or some part or parcel of the said benefice, administration, or cure; but absent himself wilfully or negligently, by the space of four-score days, nights, or hours, and not having any special substituted, instituted, or inducted Vicar, incumbant, or concumbent, daily, or any other time, duly to express, enjoy, and supply his absence, room, or vacation.

“Except, all such persons as have, or shall have any charge, occasion, chance, opportunity, or possible means to entertain, serve, recreate, delight, or discourse, with any vertuous or honourable lady, or gentlewoman, matron, or maid, publicly, privately, or familiarly, and shall faint, fail, or be deemed to faint or fail in courage, or countenance, semblance, gesture, voice, speech, or attempt, or in act or adventure, or in any other matter, thing, manner, mystery, or accomplishment, due, decent, or appertinent to her or their honour, dignity, desert, expectation, desire, affection, inclination, allowance, or acceptance; to be daunted, dismayed, or to stand mute, idle, frivolous or defective, or otherwise dull, contrary, sullen, mal-content, melancholy, or different from the profession, prac-

tice, and perfection, of a compleat and consummate gentleman or courtier.

“*Except*, all such persons as by any force, or fraud, and dissimulation, shall procure, be it by letters, promises, messages, contracts, and other inveaglings, any lady or gentlewoman, woman or maid, sole or covert, into his possession or convoy, and shall convey her into any place where she is or shall be of full power and opportunity to bargain, give, take, buy, sell, or change; and shall suffer her to escape and return at large, without any such bargain, sale, gift, or exchange performed and made, contrary to former expected, expressed, employed contract or consent.

“*Except*, all such persons as by any slander, libel, word, or note, bewray, betray, defame, or suffer to be defamed, any woman, wife, widow, or maid, in whose affairs, secrets, suits, services, causes, actions, or other occupations, he hath been at any time conversant, employed, or trained in, or admitted unto, contrary to his plighted promise, duty, and allegiance; and to the utter disparagement of others hereafter to be received, retained, embraced, or liked in like services, performances, or advancements.

“*Except*, all intrusions and forcible entries had, made, or done, into or upon any of the Prince's widows, or wards female, without special licence; and all fines passed for the same.

“*Except*, all concealed fools, idiots, and mad-men that have not to this present sued forth any livery of their wits, nor *ouster le mayne* of their senses, until the Prince have had primer seisin thereof.

“*Except*, all such persons as, for their lucre and gain of living, do keep or maintain, or else frequent and resort unto, any common house, alley, open or privy place of

unlawful exercises; as of vaulting, bowling, or any forbidden manner of shooting; as at pricks in common highways, ways of sufferance or ease to market-towns or fairs, or at short butts, not being of sufficient length and distance, or at any roving or unconstant mark, or that shoot any shafts, arrows, or bolts, of unseasonable wood or substances, or without an head, or of too short and small size, contrary to the customs, laws, and statutes, in such cases made and provided.

“Except, all such persons as shall put or cast into any waters, salt or fresh, or any brooks, brinks, chinks, pits, pools, or ponds, any snare, or other engine, to danger or destroy the fry or breed of any young lampreys, boards, loaches, bullheads, cods, whittings, pikes, ruffs, or pearches, or any other young store of spawn or fries, in any flood-gate, sluice, pipe, or tail of a mill, or any other streight stream, brook, or river, salt or fresh; the same fish being then of insufficiency in age and quantity, or at that time not in convenient season to be used and taken.

“Except, all such persons as shall hunt in the night, or pursue any bucks or does; or with painted faces, vizards, or other disguisings, in the day-time; or any such as do wrongfully and unlawfully, without consent or leave given or granted, by day or by night, break or enter into any park impailed, or other several close, inclosure, chace, or purview, inclosed or compassed with wall, pale, grove, hedge, or bushes, used still and occupied for the keeping, breeding, or cherishing of young deer, prickets, or any other game, fit to be preserved and nourished; or such as do hunt, chase, or drive out any such deer, to the prejudice and decay of such game and pass-times within our dominions.

“Except, all such persons as shall shoot in any hand gun, demy-hag, or hag butt, either half-shot, or bullet,

any fowl, bird, or beast; either at any deer, red or fallow, or any other thing or things, except it be a butt set, laid, or raised in some convenient place, fit for the same purpose.

“Except, all and every artificer, crafts-man, labourer, householder, or servant, being a layman, which hath not lands to the yearly value of forty shillings; or any clerk, not admitted or advanced to the benefice of the value of ten pounds per annum, that with any grey-hound, mongrel, mastiff, spaniel, or other dogs, doth hunt in other men’s parks, warrens, and coney-grees; or use any ferrets, hare-pipes, snarles, ginns, or other knacks or devises, to take or destroy does, hares, or coneyes, or other gentlemen’s game, contrary to the form and meaning of a statute in that case provided.

“Except, all merchant-adventurers, that ship or lade any wares or merchandize, into any port or creek, in any Flemish, French, or Dutch, or other outlandish hoy, ship, or bottom, whereof the Prince, nor some of his subjects, be not possessioners and proprietaries; and the masters and mariners of the same vessels and bottoms to be the Prince’s subjects; whereby our own shipping is many times unfraught, contrary unto divers statutes in that case provided.

“Except, all owners, masters and pursers of our ships, as, for the transportation of freight from one port to another, have received and taken any sums of money above the statute-allowance in that behalf, viz., for every dry fatt, 6d.; for every bale, one foot long, 1s.; for every hogshead, pipe, or tierce of wine, 5s.

“Except, all decayed houses of husbandry, and housewifery, and inclosures, and severalties, converting of any lands used and occupied to tillage and sowing, into pasture and feeding; whereby idleness increaseth, husbandry

and housewifery is decayed, and towns are dis-peopled, contrary to the statute in that case made and provided.

“*Except*, all such persons as shall maliciously and wilfully burn or cut, or caused to be burned or cut, any conduit, or trough, pipe, or any other instrument used as a means of conveyance of any liquor, water, or other kind of moisture.

“*Except*, all commoners within any forest, chace, moor, marsh, heath, or other waste ground, which hath put to pasture into, or upon the same, any stoned horses, not being of the altitude and heighth contained in the statute in that case made and provided for the good breed of strong and large horses, which is much decayed; little stoned horses, nags, and hobbies, being put to pasture there, and in such commons.

“*Except*, all fugitives, failers, and finchers, that with shame and discredit are fled and vanished out of the Prince’s dominions of *Purpoole*, and especially from his Court at *Graya*, this time of *Christmas*, to withdraw themselves from his Honour’s service and attendance, contrary to their duty and allegiance, and to their perpetual ignominy, and incurable loss of credit and good opinion, which belongeth to ingenuous and well-minded gentlemen.

“*Except*, all concealments, and wrongful detainments of any subsidies and revenues, benevolence, and receipts upon privy seals, &c.

“*Except*, all, and all manner of offences, pains, penalties, mulcts, fines, amerciaments, and punishments, corporal and pecuniary, whatsoever.”

The Pardon being thus read by the Solicitor, the Prince made a short speech to his subjects, wherein he gave them to understand, that although in clemency he par-

done all offences to that present time; yet, notwithstanding, his meaning thereby was not to give any the least occasion of presumption in breaking his laws, and the customs laudably used through his dominions and government. Neither did he now graciously forgive all errors and misdemeanours as he would hereafter severely and strictly reform the same. His will was, that justice should be administered to every subject, without any partiality; and that the wronged should make their causes known to himself, by petition to the Master of the Requests: and further excused the causes of the great taxes, and sums of money, that were levied, by reason that his predecessors had not left his coffers full of treasure, nor his crown so furnished, as became the dignity of so great a Prince.

Then his Highness called for the Master of the Revels, and willed him to pass the time in dancing: So his gentlemen-pensioners and attendants, very gallantly appointed, in thirty couples, danced the old measures, and their galliards, and other kinds of dances, revelling until it was very late; and so spent the rest of their performance in those exercises, until it pleased his Honour to take his way to his lodging, with sound of trumpets, and his attendants in order, as is above set down.

There was the conclusion of the first grand night, the performance whereof increased the expectation of those things that were to ensue; insomuch that the common report amongst all strangers was so great, and the expectation of our proceedings so extraordinary, that it urged us to take upon us a greater state than was at first intended: and therefore, besides all the stately and sumptuous service that was continually done the Prince, in very princely manner; and besides the daily revels, and such like sports, which were usual, there was intended divers

grand nights, for the entertainment of strangers to our pass-times and sports.

The next grand night was intended to be upon Innocents-day at night; at which time there was a great presence of lords, ladies, and worshipful personages, that did expect some notable performance at that time; which, indeed, had been effected, if the multitude of beholders had not been so exceeding great, that thereby there was no convenient room for those that were actors; by reason whereof, very good inventions and conceits could not have opportunity to be applauded, which otherwise would have been great contentations to the beholders. Against which time, our friend, the *Inner Temple*, determined to send their Ambassador to our Prince of State, as sent from *Frederick Templarius*, their Emperor, who was then busied in his wars against the Turk. The Ambassador came very gallantly appointed, and attended by a great number of brave gentlemen, which arrived at our Court about nine of the clock at night. Upon their coming thither, the King at Arms gave notice to the Prince, then sitting in his chair of state in the hall, that there was to come to his Court an Ambassador from his ancient friend the *State of Templaria*, which desired to have present access unto his Highness; and shewed his Honour further, that he seemed to be of very good sort, because he was so well attended; and therefore desired, that it would please his Honour that some of his Nobles and Lords might conduct him to his Highness's presence, which was done. So he was brought in very solemnly, with sound of trumpets, the King at Arms and Lords of *Purpoole* making to his company, which marched before him in order. He was received very kindly of the Prince, and placed in a chair besides his Highness, to the end that he might be a partaker of the sports intended. But

first he made a speech to the Prince, wherein he declared how his excellent renown and fame was known throughout all the whole world; and that the report of his greatness was not contained within the bounds of the Ocean, but had come to the ears of his noble Sovereign, *Fredrick Templarius*, where he is now warring against the Turks, the known enemies to all Christendom; who, having heard that his Excellency kept his Court at *Graya* this Christmas, thought it to stand with his ancient league of amity and near kindness, that so long had been continued and increased by their noble ancestors of famous memory and desert, to gratulate his happiness, and flourishing estate; and in that regard, had sent him his Ambassador, to be residing at his Excellency's Court, in honour of his greatness, and token of his tender love and good-will he beareth to his Higness; the confirmation whereof he especially required, and by all means possible would study to increase and eternize; which function he was the more willing to accomplish, because our State of *Graya* did grace *Templaria* with the presence of an Ambassador about thirty years since, upon like occasion.

Our Prince made him this answer: That he did acknowledge that the great kindness of his Lord, whereby he doth invite to further degrees in firm and loyal friendship, did deserve all honourable commendations, and effectual accomplishment, that by any means might be devised; and that he accounted himself happy, by having the sincere and steadfast love of so gracious and renowned a Prince, as his Lord and Master deserved to be esteemed; and that nothing in the world should hinder the due observation of so inviolable a band as he esteemed his favour and good-will. Withal, he entered into commendation of his noble and courageous enterprizes, in that he chuseth out an adversary fit for his greatness to

encounter with, his Honour to be illustrated by, and such an enemy to all Christendom, as that the glory of his actions tend to the safety and liberty of all civility and humanity: yet, notwithstanding that he was thus employed in this action of honouring us, he shewed both his honourable mindfulness of our love and friendship, and also his own puissance, that can afford so great a number of brave gentlemen, and so gallantly furnished and accomplished: and so concluded, with a welcome both to the Ambassador himself and his favourites, for their Lord and Master's sake, and so for their own good deserts and condition.

When the Ambassador was placed, as aforesaid, and that there was something to be performed for the delight of the beholders, there arose such a disordered tumult and crowd upon the stage, that there was no opportunity to effect that which was intended: there came so great a number of worshipful personages upon the stage that might not be displaced, and gentlewomen whose sex did privilege them from violence, that when the Prince and his officers had in vain, a good while, expected and endeavoured a reformation, at length there was no hope of redress for that present. The Lord Ambassador and his train thought that they were not so kindly entertained as was before expected, and thereupon would not stay any longer at that time, but, in a sort, discontented and displeased. After their departure, the throngs and tumults did somewhat cease, although so much of them continued as was able to disorder and confound any good inventions whatsoever. In regard whereof, as also for that the sports intended were especially for the gracing the *Templarians*, it was thought good not to offer any thing of account, saving dancing and revelling with gentlewomen; and after such sports, a Comedy of Errors

(like to Plautus his Menechmus) was played by the players. So that night was begun and continued to the end in nothing but confusion and errors; whereupon, it was ever afterwards called, "The Night of Errors."

This mischanceful accident sorting so ill, to the great prejudice of the rest of our proceedings, was a great discouragement and disparagement to our whole state; yet it gave occasion to the lawyers of the Prince's Council, the next night, after revels, to read a commission of Oyer and Terminer, directed to certain Noblemen and Lords of his Highness's Council, and others, that they should enquire, or cause enquiry to be made, of some great disorders and abuses lately done and committed within his Highness's dominions of *Purpoole*, especially by sorceries and enchantments; and namely, of a great witchcraft used the night before, whereby there were great disorders and misdemeanours, by hurly-burlies, crowds, errors, confusions, vain representations, and shows, to the utter discredit of our state and policy.

The next night upon this occasion, we preferred judgments thick and three-fold, which were read pulckly by the Clerk of the Crown, being all against a sorcerer or conjurer that was supposed to be the cause of that confused inconvenience. Therein was contained, How he had caused the stage to be built, and scaffolds to be reared to the top of the house, to increase expectation. Also how he had caused divers ladies and gentlemen, and others of good condition to be invited to our sports; also our dearest friend the *State of Templaria*, to be disgraced, and disappointed of their kind entertainment, deserved and intended. Also that he caused throngs and tumults, crowds and outrages, to disturb our whole proceedings. And lastly, that he had foisted a company of base and common fellows, to make up our disorders with a play

of Errors and Confusions; and that that night had gained to us discredit, and itself a nickname of Errors. All which were against the crown and dignity of our Sovereign Lord the Prince of *Purpoole*.

Under colour of these proceedings, were laid open to the view all the causes of note that were committed by our chiefest statesmen in the government of our principality; and every officer in any great place, that had not performed his duty in that service, was taxed hereby, from the highest to the lowest, not sparing the guard and porters, that suffered so many disordered persons to enter in at the court-gates: upon whose aforesaid indictments the prisoner was arraigned at the bar, being brought thither by the Lieutenant of the Tower (for at that time the stocks were graced with that name); and the Sheriff impannelled a jury of twenty-four gentlemen, that were to give their verdict upon the evidence given. The prisoner appealed to the Prince his Excellency for justice; and humbly desired that it would please his Highness to understand the truth of the matter by his supplication, which he had ready to be offered to the Master of the Requests. The Prince gave leave to the Master of the Requests, that he should read the petition; wherein was a disclosure of all the knavery and juggling of the Attorney and Solicitor, which had brought all this law-stuff on purpose to blind the eyes of his Excellency and all the honourable Court there, going about to make them think that those things which they all saw and perceived sensibly to be in very deed done, and actually performed, were nothing else but vain illusions, fancies, dreams, and enchantments, and to be wrought and compassed by the means of a poor harmless wretch, that never had heard of such great matters in all his life: whereas the very fault was in the negligence of the

Prince's Council, Lords, and Officers of his State, that had the rule of the roast, and by whose advice the Commonwealth was so soundly misgoverned. To prove these things to be true, he brought divers instances of great absurdities committed by the greatest: and made such allegations as could not be denied. These were done by some that were touched by the Attorney and Solicitor in their former proceedings, and they used the prisoner's names for means of quittance with them in that behalf. But the Prince and States-men (being pinched on both sides by both parties) were not a little offended at the great liberty that they had taken in censuring so far of his Highness's government; and thereupon the prisoner was freed and pardoned, the Attorney, Solicitor, Master of the Requests, and those that were acquainted with the draught of the petition, were all of them commanded to the Tower; so the Lieutenant took charge of them. And this was the end of our law-sports, concerning the Night of Errors.

When we were wearied with mocking thus at our own follies, at length there was a great consultation had for the recovery of our lost honour. It was then concluded, that first the Prince's Council should be reformed, and some graver conceits should have their places, to advise upon those things that were propounded to be done afterward. Therefore, upon better consideration, there were divers plots and devices intended against the Friday after the New-year's-day, being the 3d of January; and, to prevent all unruly tumults, and former inconveniences, there was provided a watch of armed men, to ward at the four ports; and whiffiers to make good order under the four Barons; and the Lord Warden to over-see them all; that none but those that were of good condition might

be suffered to be let into the Court. And the like officers were every where appointed.

On the 3d of January at night, there was a most honourable presence of great and noble personages, that came as invited to our Prince; as namely, the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Cumberland, Northumberland, Southampton, and Essex; the Lords Buckhurst, Windsor, Mountjoy, Sheffield, Compton, Rich, Burleygh, Mounteagle, and the Lord Thomas Howard; Sir Thomas Henneage, Sir Robert Cecill; with a great number of knights, ladies, and very worshipful personages; all which had convenient places, and very good entertainment, to their good liking and contentment.

When they were all thus placed and settled in very good order, the Prince came into the Hall with his wonted state, and ascended his throne at the high end of the Hall, under his Highness's arms; and after him came the Ambassador of *Templaria*, with his train likewise, and was placed by the Prince as he was before; his train also had places reserved for them, and were provided for them particularly. Then, after a variety of musick, they were presented with this device.

At the side of the Hall, behind a curtain, was erected an altar to the Goddess of Amity; her arch-flamen ready to attend the sacrifice and incense that should, by her servants, be offered unto her: round about the same sate Nymphs and Fairies, with instruments of musick, and made very pleasant melody with viols and voices, and sang hymns and prayes to her deity.

Then issued forth of another room the first pair of friends, which were Theseus and Perithous; they came in arm in arm, and offered incense upon the altar to their

Goddess, which shined and burned very clear, without blemish; which being done they departed.

Then likewise came Achilles and Patroclus; after them, Pylades and Orestes; then Scipio and Lelius: and all these did, in all things, as the former; and so departed.

Lastly, were presented *Grainus* and *Templarius*; and they two came lovingly, arm in arm, to the altar, and offered their incense as the rest, but the Goddess did not accept of their service; which appeared by the troubled smook, and dark vapour, that choaked the flame, and smothered the clear burning thereof. Hereat, the arch-flamen, willing to pacifie the angry Goddess, preferred certain mystical ceremonies and invocations, and commanded the nymphs to sing some hymns of pacification to her deity, and caused them to make proffer of their devotion again; which they did, and then the flame burnt more clear than at any time before, and continued longer in brightness and shining to them than to any of those pairs of friends that had gone before them; and so they departed.

Then the arch-flamen did pronounce *Grayus* and *Templarius* to be as true and perfect friends, and so familiarly united and linked with the bond and league of sincere friendship and amity, as ever were Theseus and Perithous, Achilles and Patroclus, Pylades and Orestes, or Scipio and Lælius; and therewithal did further divine, that this love should be perpetual. And, lastly, denounced a heavy curse on them that shall any way go about to break or weaken the same; and an happiness to them that study and labour to eternize it for ever. So, with sweet and pleasant melody, the curtain was drawn as it was at first.

Thus was this shew ended, which was devised to that end, that those that were present might understand, that

the unkindness which was growing betwixt the *Templarians* and us, by reason of the former Night of Errors and the uncivil behaviour wherewith they were entertained, as before I have partly touched, was now clean rooted out and forgotten, and that we now were more firm friends, and kind lovers, than ever before we had been, contrary to the evil reports that some enviers of our happiness had sown abroad.

The Prince then spake to the Ambassador, that the shew had contented him exceedingly; the rather, that it appeared thereby, that their ancient amity was so fresh and flourishing, that no friendship in the world hath been compared to the love and good-will of the *Grayans* and *Templarians*. And to the end that he might shew that the conceipt was pleasing unto him, his Highness offered the Lord Ambassador, and some of his retinue, with the Knighthood of the *Helmet*, an Order of his own institution.

To that end his Excellency called to him his King at Arms, and willed him to place the Ambassador, and some of his followers, and also some of his own Court, that they might receive the dignity at his hands; which being done, and the Master of the Jewels attending with the Collar of the Order, the Prince came down from his chair of state, and took a collar, and put it about the Lord Ambassador's neck, he kneeling down on his left knee; and said to him, "*Sois Chivalor*:" and so was done to the rest, to the number of twenty-four.

So the Prince and the Lord Ambassador took their places again in their chairs, and the rest according to their condition.

Then *Helmet*, his Highness's King at Arms, stood before the Prince, in his surcoat of arms, and caused the trumpets to sound, and made his speech; as doth follow:

“The most mighty and puissant Prince, Sir Henry, my gracious Lord and Sovereign Prince of *Purpoole*, Archduke of *Stapulia* and *Bernardia*, Duke of *High and Nether Holborn*, Marquis of *St. Giles’s* and *Tottenham*, Count Palatine of *Bloomsbury* and *Clerkenwell*, Great Lord of the Cantons of *Islington*, *Kentish Town*, *Paddington*, and *Knight’s-bridge*, hath heretofore, for the special gracing of the nobility of his realm, and honouring the deserts of strangers, his favourites, instituted a most honourable Order of Knighthood of the *Helmet*, whereof his Honour is Sovereign, in memory of the arms he beareth, worthily given to one of his noble ancestors, many years past, for saving the life of his then Sovereign; in regard that as the *Helmet* defendeth the chiefest part of the body, the head; so did he guard and defend the sacred person of the Prince, the head of the state. His Highness at this time had made choice of a number of vertuous and noble personages, to admit them into his honourable Society; whose good example may be a spur and encouragement to the young nobility of his dominions, to cause them to aspire to the height of all honourable deserts.

“To the honourable Order are annexed strict rules of arms, and civil government, religiously to be observed by all those that are admitted to this dignity. You therefore, most noble Gentlemen, whom his Highness at this time so greatly honoureth with his Royal Order, you must every one of you kiss your helmet, and thereby promise and vow to observe and practice, or otherwise, as the case shall require, shun and avoid all these constitutions and ordinances, which, out of the records of my Office of Arms, I shall read unto you.”

Then the King at Arms took his book, and turned to the articles of the orders; and read them, as followeth:

the unkindness which was growing betwixt the Temp-
poraries and us, by reason of the former Night of Errors
and the unkind behaviour wherewith they were enter-
tained as before I have partly touched, was now clean
washed out and forgotten, and that we now were more
our friends and kind lovers, than ever before we had
been contrary to the evil reports that some enviers of
our kindness had sown abroad.

The Prince then spake to the Ambassador, that the
King had contented him exceedingly; the rather, that it
was his duty, that their ancient amity was so fresh
and flourishing, that no friendship in the world hath
been more true to the love and good-will of the *Grayans*
and *French*. And to the end that he might shew
that he was pleasing unto him, his Highness
gave the Lord Ambassador, and some of his retinue,
in the Ambassador of the *Helmet*, an Order of his own
creation.

After this the Excellency called to him his King at
Armes, and desired him to place the Ambassador, and some
of his retinue, and also some of his own Court, that they
might receive the dignity at his hands; which being done,
the Master of the Jewels attending with the Collar
of the Order, the Prince came down from his chair of
state, and took a collar, and put it about the Lord Am-
bassador's neck, he kneeling down on his left knee; and
said to him, "Sons Chevaliers" and so was done to the
rest in the number of twenty-four.

After this the Prince and the Lord Ambassador took their
seats again in their chairs, and the rest according to
their condition.

Then the Prince, his Highness,
said to the Prince, in his
own words to sound,

“Imprimis, Every Knight of this honourable Order, whether he be a natural subject, or stranger born, shall promise never to bear arms against his Highness’s sacred person, nor his state; but to assist him in all his lawful wars, and maintain all his just pretences and titles; especially, his Highness’s title to the land of the *Ama zons*, d (sic) the *Cape of Good Hope*.

“Item, no Knight of this Order shall, in point of honour, resort to any grammar-rules out of the books *De Dullo*, or such like,” but shall, out of his own brave mind, and natural courage, deliver himself from scorns, as to his own discretion shall seem convenient.

“Item, no Knight of this Order shall be inquisitive towards any lady or gentlewoman, whether her beauty be English or Italian, or whether, with care-taking, she have added half a foot to her stature; but shall take all to the best. Neither shall any Knight of the aforesaid Order presume to affirm, that faces were better twenty years ago than they are at this present time, except such Knights have passed three climacterical years.

“Item, everie Knight of this Order is bound to perform all requisite and manly service, be it night-service, or otherwise, as the case requireth, to all ladies and gentlewomen, beautiful by nature or by art; ever offering his aid, without any demand thereof; and if in case he fail to so do, he shall be deemed a match of disparagement to any his Highness’s widows, or wards-female; and his Excellency shall in justice forbear to make any tender of him to any such ward or widow.

“Item, no Knight of this Order shall procure any letters from his Highness to any widow or maid, for his enablement and commendation to be advanced to marriage; but all prerogative, wooing set apart, shall for ever cease, as to any of these Knights, and shall be left to the

common laws of this land, declared by the statute, *Quia Electiones liberae esse debent*.

“Item, no Knight of this honorable Order, in case he shall grow into decay, shall procure from his Highness relief and sustentation, any monopolies or privileges, except only these kinds following: that is to say, Upon every tobacco-pipe, not being one foot wide; upon every lock that is worn, not being seven feet long; upon every health that is drunk, not being of a glass five foot deep; and upon every maid in his Highness’s province of *Islington*, continuing a virgin after the age of fourteen years, contrary to the use and custom in that place always had and observed.

“Item, no Knight of this Order shall have any more than one mistress, for whose sake he shall be allowed to wear three colours: but, if he will have two mistresses, then must he wear six colours; and so forward, after the rate of three colours to a mistress.

“Item, no Knight of this Order shall put out any money upon strange returns or performances to be made by his own person; as, to hop up the stairs to the top of St. Paul’s, without intermission; or any other such like agilities or endurances, except it may appear that the same performances or practices do enable him to some service or employment; as, if he do undertake to go a journey backward, the same shall be thought to enable him to be an Ambassador into Turkey.

“Item, no Knight of this Order, that hath had any licence to travel into foreign countries, be it by map, card, sea, or land, and hath returned from thence, shall presume upon the warrant of a traveller, to report any extraordinary varieties; as, that he hath ridden through Venice on horse-back post; or that in December he sailed by the Cape of Norway; or that he hath travelled over

the most part of the countries of Geneva; or such like hyperbolies, contrary to the statute, *Propterea quod qui diversos terrarum ambitus errent & vagantur, &c.*

“Item, every Knight of this Order shall do his endeavour to be much in the books of the worshipful citizens of the principal city, next adjoining to the territories of *Purpoole*; and none shall unlearnedly, or without looking; pay ready money for any wares, or other things pertaining to the gallantness of his Honour’s Court; to the ill example of others, and utter subversion of credit betwixt man and man.

“Item, every Knight of this Order shall apply himself to some or other vertuous quality or ability of learning, honour, and arms; and shall not think it sufficient to come into his Honour’s Presence-Chamber in good apparel only, or to be able to keep company at play and gaming; for such it is already determined, that they be put and taken for implements of household, and are placed in his Honour’s Inventory.

“Item, every Knight of this Order shall endeavour to add conference and exrience (*sic*) by reading; and therefore shall not only read and peruse Guizo, the French Academy, Galiatto the Courtier, Plutarch, the Arcadia, and the Neoterical Writers, from time to time; but also frequent the Theatre, and such like places of experience; and resort to the better sort of ordinaries for conference; whereby they may not only become accomplished with civil conversations, and able to govern a table with discourse; but also sufficient, if need be, to make epigrams, emblems, and other devices, appertaining to his Honour’s learned revels.

“Item, no Knight of this Order shall give out what gracious words the Prince hath given him, nor leave word at his chamber, in case any come to speak with him, that

he is above with his Excellency: nor cause his man, when he shall be in any public assembly, to call him suddenly to go to the Prince, nor cause any packet of letters to be brought at dinner or supper time, nor say that he had the refusal of some great office, nor satisfy suitors, to say, his Honour is not in any good disposition, nor make any narrow observation of his Excellency's nature and fashions, as if he were inward privately with his Honour; contrary to the late inhibition of selling of smoak.

“Item, no Knight of this Order shall be armed; for the safeguard of his countenance, with a pipe in his mouth, in the nature of a tooth-picker, or with any weapon in his hand, be it stick, plume, wand, or any such like; neither shall he draw out of his pocket any book or paper, to read for the same intent; neither shall he retain any extraordinary shrug, nod, or other familiar motion or gesture, to the same end; for his Highness, of his gracious clemency, is disposed to lend his countenance to all such Knights as are out of countenance.

“Item, no Knight of this Order, that weareth fustian, cloth, or such statute-apparel, for necessity, shall pretend to wear the same for the new fashion's sake.

“Item, no Knight of this Order, in walking the streets, or other places of resort, shall bear his hands in his pockets of his great rolled hose, with the Spanish wheel; if it be not either to defend his hands from the cold, or else to guard forty shillings sterling, being in the same pockets.

“Item, no Knight of this Order shall lay to pawn his Collar of Knighthood for an hundred pounds; and, if he do, she shall be, *ipso facto*, discharged; and it shall be lawful for any man whatsoever, that will retain the same Collar for the sum aforesaid, forthwith to take upon him the said Knighthood, by reason of a secret vertue in the

Collar; for in this Order, it is holden for a certain rule, that the Knighthood followeth the Collar, and not the Collar the Knighthood.

“Item, that no Knight of this Order shall take upon him the person of a male-content, in going with a more private retinue than appertaineth to his degree, and using but special obscure company, and commending none but men disgraced, and out of office; and smiling at good news, as if he knew something that were not true; and making odd notes of his Highness’s reign, and former governments; or saying, that his Highness’s sports were well sorted with a Play of Errors; and such like pretty speeches of jest, to the end that he may more safely utter his malice against his Excellency’s happiness; upon pain to be present at all his Excellency’s most glorious Triumphs.

“Lastly, all the Knights of this honourable Order, and the renowned Sovereign of the same, shall yield all homage, loyalty, unaffected admiration, and all humble service, of what name or condition soever, to the incomparable Empress of the Fortunate Island.”

When the King at Arms had read all these articles of the Order of the Knighthood, and finished the ceremonies belonging to the same, and that every one had taken their places as before, there was a variety of consort-musick; and in the mean while, the Knights of the Order which were not strangers brought into the hall a running banquet, in very good order, and gave it to the Prince, and Lords, and other Strangers, in imitation of the feast that belongeth to all such honourable institutions.

This being done, there was a table set in the midst of the stage, before the Prince’s seat; and there sat six of the Lords of his Privy Council, which at that time were

appointed to attend, in council, the Prince's leisure. Then the Prince spake to them in this manner:

"My Lords,

"We have made choice of you, as our most faithful and favoured Counsellors, to advise with you, not any particular action of our State, but in general, of the scope and end whereunto you think it most for our honour, and the happiness of our State, that our government be rightly bent and directed; for we mean not to do as many Princes use; which conclude of their ends out of their own honours, and take counsel only of the means (abusing, for the most part, the wisdom of their Counsellors) set them the right way to the wrong place. But we, desirous to leave as little to chance or humour as may be, do now give you liberty and warrant to set before us, to what port, as it were, the ship of our government should be bounden. And this we require you to do, without either respect to our affections, or your own; neither guessing what is most agreeable with our disposition, wherein we may easily deceive you; for Princes' hearts are inscrutable: nor, on the other side, putting the case by yourselves, as if you would present us with a robe, whereof measure were taken by yourselves. Thus you perceive our mind, and we expect your answer."

The First Counsellor advising the Exercise of War.

"Most Excellent Prince,

"Except there be such amongst us, as I am fully persuaded there is none, that regardeth more his own greatness under you, than your great (*sic*) over others, I think there will be little difference in the chusing for you a goal worthy your vertue and power. For he that shall set before him your magnanimity and valour, supported by the youth and disposition of your body; your flourishing

Court, like the horse of *Troy*, full of brave commanders and leaders; your populous and man-rife provinces, overflowing with warlike people; your coffers, like the Indian mines when that they are first opened; your store-houses are as sea-walls, like to Vulcan's cave; your navy like to an huge floating city; the devotion of your subjects to your crown and person, their good agreement amongst themselves, their wealth and provision: and then your strength and unrevocable confederation with the noble and honourable personages, and the fame and reputation without of so rare a concurrence, whereof all the former regards do grow: how can he think any exercise worthy of your means, but that of conquest? for, in few words, what is your strength, if you find it not? Your fortune, if you try it not? Your vertue, if you show it not? Think, excellent Prince, what sense of content you found in yourself when you were first invested in our state: for though I know your Excellency is far from vanity and lightness, yet it is the nature of all things to find rest when they come to due and proper places. But be assured of this, that this delight will languish and vanish; for power will quench appetite, and satiety will endure tediousness. But if you embrace the wars, your trophies and triumphs will be as continual coronations that will not suffer your glory and contentment to fade and wither. Then, when you have enlarged your territories, ennobled your country, distributed fortunes, good or bad, at your pleasure, not only to particulars, but to cities and nations; marked the computations of time with your expeditions and voyages, and the memory of places by your exploits and victories, in your later years you shall find a sweet respect into the adventures of your youth, you shall enjoy your reputation, you shall record your travels; and after your own time you shall eternize your name, and leave deep

foot-steps of your power in the world. To conclude, excellent Prince, and most worthy to have the titles of victories added to your high and deserved titles: remember, the Divines find nothing more glorious to resemble our state unto than warfare. All things in earnest and jest do affect a kind of victory, and all other victories are but shadows to the victories of the wars. Therefore embrace the wars, for they disparage you not; and believe, that if any Prince do otherwise, it is either in the weakness of his mind or means."

The Second Counsellor, advising the Study of Philosophy.

"It may seem, Most Excellent Prince, that my Lord, which now hath spoken, did never read the just censures of the wisest men, who compared great conquerors to great rovers and witches, whose power is in destruction, and not in preservation; else would he never have advised your Excellency to become as some comet, or blazing-star, which would threaten and portend nothing but death and dearth, combustions and troubles of the world. And whereas the governing faculties of men are two, force and reason; whereof the one is brute, and the other divine, he wisheth you for your principal ornament and regality, the talons of the eagle to catch the prey, and not the piercing sight which seeth into the bottom of the sea: but I, contrarywise, will wish unto your Highness the exercise of the best and purest part of the mind, and the most innocent and meriting request, being the conquest of the works of nature; making his proportion, that you bend the excellency of your spirits to the searching out, inventing, and discovering of all whatsoever is hid in secret in the world, that your Excellency be not as a lamp that shineth to others, and yet seeth not itself; but

as the eye of the world, that both carrieth and useth light. Antiquity, that presenteth unto us in dark visions the wisdom of former times, informeth us, that the kingdoms have always had an affinity with the secrets and mysteries of learning. Amongst the Persians, the Kings were attended on by the Magi; the Gymnasophists had all the government under the Princes of Asia; and generally those kingdoms were accounted most happy, that had rulers most addicted to philosophy: the Ptolemies of Egypt may be for instance; and Solyman was a man so seen in the universality of nature, that he wrote an herbal of all that was green upon the earth. No conquest of Julius Cæsar made him so remembered as the Calendar. Alexander the Great wrote to Aristotle upon the publishing of the Physicks, that he esteemed more of excellent men in knowledge, than in empire. And to this purpose I will commend to your Highness four principal works and monuments of yourself: First, the collecting of a most perfect and general library, wherein whatsoever the wit of man hath heretofore committed to books of worth, be they ancient or modern, printed or manuscript, European or of the other parts, of one or other language, may be made contributory to your wisdom. Next, a spacious, wonderful garden, wherein whatsoever plant, the sun of divers climates, out of the earth of divers moulds, either wild, or by the culture of man, brought forth, may be, with that care that appertaineth to the good prospering thereof, set and cherished. This garden to be built about with rooms, to stable in all rare beasts, and to cage in all rare birds; with two lakes adjoining, the one of fresh water, and the other of salt, for like variety of fishes: and so you may have, in a small compass, a model of universal nature made private. The third a goodly huge cabinet, wherein whatsoever the hand of

man, by exquisite art or engine, hath made rare in stuff, form, or motion, whatsoever singularity, chance, and the shuffle of things hath produced, whatsoever nature hath wrought in things that want life, and may be kept, shall be sorted and included. The fourth, such a Still-house so furnished with mills, instruments, furnaces, and vessels, as may be a Palace fit for a philosopher's stone. Thus when your Excellency shall have added depth of knowledge to the fineness of spirits, and greatness of your power, then indeed shall you lay a Trismegistus; and then, when all other miracles and wonders shall cease, by reason that you shall have discovered their natural causes, yourself shall be left the only miracle and wonder of the world."

The Third Counsellor, advising Eternizement and Fame,
by Buildings and Foundations.

"My Lords that have already spoken, most excellent Prince, have both used one fallacy, in taking that for certain and granted, which was most uncertain and doubtful: for the one hath neither drawn in question the success and fortune of the wars; nor the other, the difficulties and errors in the conclusions of nature: but these immoderate hopes and promises do many times issue from those of the wars, into tragedies of calamities and distresses; and those of mystical philosophy, into comedies of ridiculous frustrations and disappointments of such conceits and curiosities: but, on the other side, in one point my Lords have well agreed, that they both, according to their several intentions, counselled your Excellency to win fame, and to eternize your name; though the one adviseth it in a course of great peril, and the other, of little dignity and magnificence. But the plain and approved way that is safe, and yet proportion-

able to the greatness of a Monarch, to present himself to posterity, is not rumour and hear-say; but the usual memory of himself, is the magnificence of goodly and Royal buildings and foundations, and the new institutions of orders, ordinances, and societies: that is, that your coin be stamped with your own image; so in every part of your State there may be somewhat new; which by continuance may make the founder and author remembered. It was perceived at the first, when men sought to cure mortality by fame, that buildings was the only way; and thereof proceeded the known holy antiquity of building the Tower of Babel; which, as it was a sin in the immoderate appetite of fame, so was it punished in the kind; for the diversities of languages have imprisoned fame ever since. As for the pyramids, the colosses, the number of temples, colleges, bridges, aqueducts, castles, theatres, palaces, and the like, they may shew us, that men ever mistrusted any other way to fame than this only, of works and monuments. Yea, even they which had the best choice of other means. Alexander did not think his fame so engraven in his conquests, but that he thought it further shined in the buildings of Alexandria. Augustus Cæsar thought no man had done greater things in military actions than himself; yet that which, at his death, ran most in his mind, was his buildings; when he said, not as some mistake it, metaphorically, but literally, 'I found the City of brick, but I leave it of marble.' Constantine the Great was wont to call with envy the Emperor Trajan 'Wall-flower,' because his name was upon so many buildings; which, notwithstanding, he himself did embrace in the new founding of Constantinople, and sundry other buildings: and yet none greater conquerors than these two. And surely they had reason; for the fame of great actions is like to a land-flood, which

hath no certain head or spring, but the memory and fame of buildings and foundations hath, as it were, a fountain in an hill, which continually feedeth and refresheth the other waters. Neither do I, excellent Prince, restrain my Speeches to dead buildings only, but intend it also to other foundations, institutions, and creations; wherein I presume the more to speak confidently, because I am warranted herein by your own wisdom, who have made the first fruits of your actions of state, to institute the honourable Order of the Helmet; the less shall I need to say, leaving your Excellency not so much to follow my advice, as your own example."

The Fourth Councillor, advising Absoluteness of State and Treasure.

"Let it not seem pusillanimity for your Excellency, mighty Prince, to descend a little from your high thoughts to a necessary consideration of your own estate. Neither do you deny, Honourable Lords, to acknowledge safety, profit, and power, to be of the substance of policy, and fame and honour rather to be as flowers of well-ordered actions, than as good guides. Now if you examine the courses propounded according to these respects, it must be confessed, that the course of wars may seem to increase power, and the course of contemplations and foundations not prejudice safety; but if you look beyond the exterior, you shall find that the first breeds weakness, and the latter note peril: for certain it is, during wars, your Excellency will be enforced to your soldiers, and generally to your people, and become less absolute and monarchical than if you reigned in peace; and then if your success be good, that you make new conquests, you shall be constrained to spend the strength of your ancient and settled provinces, to assure you new and

doubtful, and become like a strong man, that, by taking a great burden upon his shoulders, maketh himself weaker than he was before. Again, if you think you may not end contemplations with security, your Excellency will be deceived; for such studies will make you retired and disused with your business; whence will follow admiration of your authority; as for the other point, of exercising in every part of your state something new, derived from yourself, it will acquaint your Excellency with an humor of innovation and alteration; which will make your Reign very turbulent and unsettled, and many times your change will be for worse; as in the example last touched, of Constantine, who, by his new translation of his estate, ruined the Roman Empire. As for profit, there appeareth a direct contrariety betwixt that and all the three courses; for nothing causeth such dissipation of treasure as wars, curiosities, and buildings; and for all this to be recompensed in a supposed honour, a matter apt to be much extolled in words, but not greatly to be praised in conceit, I do think it a loser's bargain. Besides that, many politic Princes have received as much commendation for their wise and well ordered government, as others have done for their conquests and glorious affections. And more worthy, because the praise of wisdom and judgment is less communicated with fortune. Therefore, excellent Prince, be not transported with shews; follow the order of nature, first to make the most of that you possess, before you seek to purchase more. To put the case by a private man (for I cannot speak high), if a man were born to an hundred pounds by the year, and one shew him how with charge to purchase an hundred pounds more, and another should shew him how without charge to raise that hundred pounds unto five hundred pounds, I should think the latter advice should

be followed. The proverb is a countrey proverb, but significative, 'Milk the cow that standeth still; why follow you her that flieth away?' Do not think, excellent Prince, that all the conquests you are to make be foreign; you are to conquer here at home the overgrowing of your grandees in factions, and too great liberties of your people, the great reverence and formalities given to your laws and customs, in derogation of your absolute prerogatives; these and such like be conquests of state, though not of war. You want a Joseph, that should by advice make you the only proprietor of all the lands and wealth of your subjects. The means how to strain up your sovereignty, and how to accumulate treasure and revenue, they are the secrets of your State: I will not enter into them at this place; I wish your Excellency as ready to them, as I know the means ready to perform them."

The Fifth Councillor, advising him Vertue, and a Graceious Government.

"Most Excellent Prince,

"I have heard sundry plats and propositions offered unto you severally: one, to make you a great Prince; another, to make you a strong Prince; and another to make you a memorable Prince; and a fourth, to make you an absolute Prince; but I hear of no mention to make you a good and virtuous Prince; which surely my Lords have left out in discretion, as to arise of your own motion and choice; and so I should have thought, had they not handled their own propositions so artificially and perswadingly, as doth assure me their Speech was not formal. But, most worthy Prince, fame is too light, and profit and surety are too low, and power is either such as you have, or ought not so to seek to have; it is the meriting of your subjects, the making of golden times, the be-

coming of a natural parent to your State: these are the only and worthy ends of your Grace's virtuous Reign. My Lords have taught you to refer all things to yourself, your greatness, memory, and advantage; but whereunto shall yourself be referred? If you will be heavenly, you must have influence; will you be as a standing pool, that spendeth and choaketh his spring within itself, and hath no streams nor current to bless and make fruitful whole tracts of countreys, whereby it reneweth? Wherefore, first of all, most virtuous Prince, assure yourself of an inward Peace, that the storms without do not disturb any of your repairers of State within; therein use and practise all honourable diversions; that done, visit all the parts of your State, and let the balm distil every where from your Sovereign hands, to the medicining of any part that complaineth, beginning with your seat of State, take order that the fault of your greatness do not rebound upon yourself; have care that your intelligence, which is the light of your State, do not go out, or burn dim or obscure; advance men of virtue, and not of mercenary minds; repress all faction, be it either malign or violent. Then look into the state of your laws, and justice of your land; purge out multiplicity of laws, clear the incertainty of them, repeal those that are snaring, and prize the execution of those that are wholesome and necessary; define the jurisdiction of your Courts, reprice all suits and vexations, all causeless delays and fraudulent shifts and devices, and reform all such abuses of right and justice, assist the ministers thereof, punish severely all extortions and exactions of officers, all corruptions in trials and sentences of judgment. Yet, when you have done all this, think not that the bridle and spur will make the horse to go alone without time and custom. Trust not to your laws for correcting the times, but give all strength to

good education; see to the government of your Universities, and all seminaries of youth, and of the private order of families, maintaining due obedience of children towards their parents, and reverence of the younger sort towards the ancient. Then when you have confirmed the noble and vital parts of your realm of State, proceed to take care of the blood and flesh, and good habit of the body. Remedy all decays of population, make provision for the poor, remove all stops in traffick, and all cancers and causes of consumption in trades and mysteries; redress all but whither do I run, exceeding the bounds of that perhaps I am now demanded? But pardon me, most excellent Prince, for as if I should commend unto your Excellency the beauty of some excellent Lady, I could not so well express it with relation, as if I shewed you her picture; so I esteem the best way to commend a virtuous government, to describe and make appear what it is; but my pencil perhaps disgraceth it: therefore I leave it to your Excellency, to take the picture out of your wise observation, and then to double it, and express it in your government."

The Sixth Councillor, regarding Pass-times and Sports.

"When I heard, most excellent Prince, the three first of my Lords so careful to continue your fame and memory, methought it was as if a man should come to some young Prince, as yourself is; and immediately after his coronation, be in hand with him to make himself a sumptuous and stately tomb. And, to speak out of my soul, I muse how any of your servants can once endure to think of you as of a Prince past. And for my other Lords, who would engage you so deeply in matters of State; the one perswading you to a more absolute, the other to a more gracious Government; I assure your Ex-

cellency, their lessons were so cumbersome, as if they would make you a King in a Play; who when one would think he standeth in great majesty and felicity, he is troubled to say his part. What? nothing but tasks? nothing but working-days? No feasting, no music, no dancing, no triumphs, no comedies, no love, no ladies? Let other men's lives be as pilgrimages, because they are tied to divers necessities and duties; but Princes' lives are as Progresses, dedicated only to variety and solace. And if your Excellency should take your barge in a summer evening, or your horse or chariot, to take the air; and if you should do any the honour to visit him; yet your pleasure is the principal, and that is but as it falleth out. So if any of these matters which have been spoken of, fall out in the way of your pleasure, it may be taken; but no otherwise. And therefore, leave your wars to your Lieutenants, and your works and buildings to your Surveyors, and your books to your Universities, and your State-matters to your Counsellors, and attend you that in person which you cannot execute by deputy: use the advantage of your youth, be not sullen to your fortune; make your pleasure the distinction of your honours, the studies of your favourites, the talk of your people, and the allurement of all foreign gallants to your Court. And, in a word, sweet Sovereign, dismiss your five Counsellors, and only take Council of your five senses."

"But if a man should follow your five senses (said the Prince) I perceive he might follow your Lordship, now and then, into an inconvenience. Your Lordship is a man of a very lively and pleasant advice; which though one should not be forward to follow, yet it fitteth the time, and what our own humour inclined oftentimes to, delight and merriment. For a Prince should be of a chearful and pleasant spirit; not austere, hard-fronted, and stoical;

but, after serious affairs, admitting recreation, and using pleasures, as sauces for meats of better nourishment."

The Prince's Answer and Conclusion to the Speeches of the Counsellors.

"My Lords.

"We thank you for your good opinions; which have been so well set forth, as we should think ourselves not capable of good council, if, in so great variety of persuading reasons, we should suddenly resolve. Meanwhile, it shall not be amiss to make choice of the last, and upon more deliberation to determine of the rest; and what time we spent in long consulting, in the end we will gain by prompt and speedy executing."

The Prince, having ended his Speech, arose from his seat, and took that occasion of revelling: so he made choice of a lady to dance withal; so likewise did the Lord Ambassador, the Pensioners and Courtiers attending the Prince. The rest of that night was passed in those pastimes. The performance of which night's work being very carefully and orderly handled, did so delight and please the Nobles and the other auditory, that thereby *Gray's-Inn* did not only recover their lost credit, and quite take away all the disgrace that the former night of Errors had incurred; but got, instead thereof, so great honour and applause, as either the good reports of our honourable friends that were present could yield or we ourselves desire.

The next day the Prince, accompanied with the Ambassador of *Templaria*, and attended by both trains, took his Progress from his Court of *Grays*, to the Lord Mayor's¹ house, called *Crosby's Place*, in *Bishopsgate-street*; as being, before that time, invited to dine with him. This

¹Sir John Spencer.

shew was very stately, and orderly performed; the Prince being mounted upon a rich foot-cloth, the Ambassador likewise riding near him; the Gentlemen attending, with the Prince's officers, and the Ambassador's favourites, before; and the other coming behind the Prince; as he set it down in the general marshalling in the beginning. Every one had his feather in his cap, to distinguish of whether State he was; the *Grayans* using a white, and the *Templarians* using ash-coloured feathers; to the number of fourscore in all, very well appointed, and provided of great horses and foot-cloths, according to their places. Thus they rode very gallantly, from *Gray's-Inn*, through *Chancery-lane*, *Fleet-street*, so through *Cheapside*, *Cornhill*, and to *Crosby's-Place* in *Bishopsgate-street*; where was a very sumptuous and costly dinner for the Prince, and all his Attendants, with variety of musick, and all good entertainment. Dinner being ended, the Prince and his company having revelled a-while, returned again the same way, and in the same order as he went thither, the streets being thronged and filled with people, to see the Gentlemen as they passed by; who thought there had been some great Prince, in very deed, passing through the City. So this popular shew through the streets pleased the Lord Mayor and his Commonalty so well, as the great Lords, and others of good condition and civility, were contented with our former proceedings.

Shortly after this shew, there came letters to our State from *Frederick Templarius*; wherein he desired, that his Ambassador might be dispatched with answer to those things which he came to treat of. So he was very honourably dismissed, and accompanied homeward with the Nobles of *Purpoole*: which departure was before the next grand day. The next grand night was upon Twelfth-day at night; at which time the wonted honourable and wor-

shipful company of Lords, Ladies, and Knights, were, as at other times, assembled; and every one of them placed conveniently, according to their condition. And when the Prince was ascended his chair of State, and the trumpet sounded, there was presently a shew which concerned his Highness's State and Government: the invention was taken out of the Prince's arms, as they are blazoned in the beginning of his reign, by the King at Arms.

First, there came six Knights of the Helmet, with three that they led as prisoners, and were attired like monsters and miscreants. The Knights gave the Prince to understand, that as they were returning from their adventures out of Russia, wherein they aided the Emperor of Russia, against the Tartars, they surprized these three persons, which were conspiring against his Highness and his dignity and that being apprehended by them, they could not urge them to disclose what they were: by which they resting very doubtful, there entered in the two goddesses. Virtues and Amity; and they said, that they would disclose to the Prince who these suspected persons were: and thereupon shewed, that they were Envy, Male-content, and Folly: which three had much disliked his Highness's proceedings, and had attempted many things against his State; and, but for them two, Virtue and United Friendship, all their inventions had been disappointed. Then willed they the Knights to depart, and to carry away the offenders; and that they themselves should come in more pleasing sort, and better befitting the present. So the Knights departed, and Virtue and Amity promised that they two would support his Excellency against all his foes whatsoever, and then departed with most pleasant musick. After their departure, entered the six Knights in a very stately mask, and danced a new devised measure; and after that, they took to them Ladies and Gentle-

women, and danced with them their *galliards*, and so departed with musick. Which being done, the trumpets were commanded to sound, and then the King at Arms came in before the Prince, and told his Honour, that here was arrived an Ambassador from the mighty Emperor of Russia and Muscovy, that had some matters of weight to make known to his Highness. So the Prince willed that he should be admitted into his presence; who came in attire of Russia, accompanied with two of his own country in like habit. When they were come in presence of the Prince, the Ambassador made his obeysance, and took out Letters of Credence, and humbly delivered them to the Prince, who gave them to the King at Arms, to be read publicly, as followeth:

To the most High and Mighty HENRY, Prince of
Purpoole.

“*Theodore Evanwhich*, the great and mighty Emperor of all *Russia, Valderomia, Muscovia, and Novogordia*; King of *Rafan*, and of *Astrakan*; Lord of *Plescoe* and *Sinelescoe*; Prince of *Tnaria, Sogoria, Perma, Vachekey*, and *Bolgaria*; Lord and Great Duke of *Valhadha, Nor-gordia* in the country of *Cherenega*; and also of *Rescod, Polotzkoe, Ogdor, and Belesor*; sole Prince of *Lothekey, Rostow, Geroslave, the white lake Liselrund, Owdoria, Condencia, and Fludoria*; Great Ruler and Commander of *Siberia*, and of all the North-side; and Lord Governor of many other Countries and Provinces. To the most mighty, and glorious renowned Henry, Prince of *Purpoole*, Archduke of *Stapulia* and *Bernardia*, Duke of *High* and *Nether Holborn*, Marquis of *St. Giles’s* and *Tottenham*, Count Palatine of *Bloomsbury* and *Clerkenwell*, Great Lord of the Cantons of *Islington, Kentish Town, Paddington*, and *Knightsbridge*, Knight of the most hero-

ical Order of the *Helmet*, and Sovereign of the same; all health and glorious renown. We have thought good, most invincible Prince, upon some accidents of importance happened to our State, wherein the worthiness of some of your subjects remaining here have increased your fame, to dispatch to your Highness our most faithful Counsellor *Faman Bega*, to intreat with you, in our name, of certain important affairs: which, though we must confess, do concern us in policy, to have an effectual regard unto; yet withal, they are such as may minister occasion to your Highness to add beams of honour to your praise and glory, which hath already, in a manner, equalled the light of Heaven in brightness, which is seen throughout the whole world. We refer you herein for the particulars to such instructions as we have, under our own hand, delivered to this our present Ambassador: wherein, as also in any other points whereof he shall treat with your Highness, in our name and affairs, we pray your sacred Majesty to give credit to him, as if ourself were present, and treated with you in person. And so we wish to your Excellency all happiness answerable to your peerless virtue.

Dated at our Imperial City of *Mosco*."

When the King at Arms had read this Letter, the Ambassador made this Speech to the Prince:

"Most Excellent Prince,

"Fame seemed to the Emperor, my Sovereign, to do your Highness right, by filling the world with the renown of your Princely virtues, and valour of your brave Court; till of late, the gallant behaviour and heroical prowess of divers your *Knights of the Helmet*, whom the good fortune of Russia, addressed to your cold climate, discovered that Fame to be either envious in suppressing

a great part of your valour, or unable to set forth so admirable virtues to their full merits; for by these five Knights (whose greatest vaunts were, that they were your Excellency's servants) an exceeding number of Bigarian Tartars, whose vagabond inroads, and inhumane fierceness infested his borders, captivated his people, burnt his cities, and spoiled whole provinces, was, by a most wonderful victory, repulsed, and beaten back. And withal, by their brave conduct, they surprised another army of Negro Tartars; whose wretched devices ceased not to work the confusion and combustion of our whole country, and diverted their barbarous cruelty where it might do us most damage. These same worthy Knights, before they could receive that honour wherewith my Sovereign intended to adorn their virtues, did withdraw themselves, and are retired, as his Majesty is informed, to your Court. Whereupon, he sent me, partly to congratulate your happiness, who deserve to command over such a number of gallant Gentlemen; but especially to conjure your Excellency (according to the ancient league and amity continued betwixt you) that you would send him these six Knights, accompanied with an hundred other of the same Order, for he doubteth not, but, by their virtues, accompanied and attended with his own forces, who are, in largeness of dominion, and number of people, and all other warlike furniture and provision, inferior to no earthly potentate, that these runagate Tartars shall be again confined to their deserts, with their memorable slaughter, and your common glory and profit: common indeed, both to your Highness and him; inasmuch as his Imperial Majesty, contented only with security and assurance of his people and borders, will permit all those large territories and bateable grounds, which now serve those vermine for pasturage, be sorted into

several governments, and strengthened with forts and castles by your direction, to be holden of your Excellency, as commendations by the Knights of special virtue and merit of your Order. So shall you, with honourable commodity, have a perpetual exercise of your virtues, become a bulwark of Christendom, and by raising continual trophies of strengthened Tartars, keep the glory of your virtue in everlasting flourish. My Sovereign, not doubting but that your resolution will be conformable to your magnanimous virtue, and his honourable demand, charged me only to solicit expedition, such as the necessity of his people and country doth require. In the mean time, he hath sent your Excellency, for a present, a ship laden with divers of the best and fairest fruits, and other richest commodities of our country; not so much, by gifts to draw on your speedy help, to which he knoweth the truth and justice of the case will be a spur sufficient; or for complement of an ordinary and seldom omitted companion of great Embassies; but rather for a seal and testimony of the exceeding honour that he beareth to your matchless vertue, and the great love he beareth to your incomparable person. The present is at your next haven, ready to be offered to your sacred hands at your convenient leisure; together with some small gifts sent to those valiant Knights, whose highly deserving virtues my Sovereign meaneth, at their long expected return to his Court, to crown with a garland more worthy his greatness and their merits."

The Answer of the Prince to the former Speech.

"Russia Lord,

"The Emperor, your Master, is happy in having so honourable a Gentlemen as yourself to do him service. He shall well perceive, that there is nothing in the world

more acceptable to us, than the friendship of a Prince so mighty and illustrious. We account amongst our greatest happinesses this honourable embassy. His presents are so large and bountiful, as we have right good occasion to hold him the most free and magnificent Prince in the world. We joy to hear of his hardy ventures, that by our Knights in those parts have been atchieved. They may be glad that our worthy Brother invited them to so high an enterprize, wherein they may do themselves honour, and his greatness service. Rest and refresh your Lordship this present, for now we bid you welcome: assure yourself your request is already granted, and that in far greater measure than you expected or desired.”

When the Prince had thus spoken, the Ambassador was placed in a chair near the Prince; and then was served up a running banquet, for the Prince and the Lords present, and the rest, with variety of music.

Whilst these things were thus a-doing, there came a post-boy with letters of intelligence concerning the state, from divers parts of his Highness’s provinces, and delivered them to the Secretary; who made the Prince acquainted therewith, and caused them to be read openly and publicly.

A Letter of Advertisement from *Knightsbridge*, to the Honourable Council.

“I beseech your Honours to advertise his Highness, that in his Excellency’s Canton of *Knightsbridge*, there do haunt certain foreigners, that seize upon all passengers, taking from them by force their goods, under pretence, that, being merchant strangers, and using traffic into his Highness’s territories of *Clerkenwell*, *Islington*, and elsewhere, they have been robbed of their goods,

spoiled of their wares; whereby they were utterly undone: and that his Honour, of his good will, hath been pleased to grant them Letters of Reprisal, to recover their loss of them that come next to their hands: by colour whereof, they lay hold of all that pass by, without respect. Some of their names, as I understand, are, *Johannes Shagbag*, *Robertus Untruss*, *James Rapax*, alias *Capax*. There do reign likewise thereabouts another sort of dangerous people, under the name of Poor Soldiers, that say they were maimed, and lost their limbs in his Honour's service and wars against the *Amazons*; and they pretend to have pass-ports from their Captains. Some of them, say, they have served under Sir *Robert Kemp* and Sir *William Cooke*; others under *William Knaplocks*, Lord Marshall, Sir *Francis Marham*, Captain *Crymes*, Captain *Conny*, *Yelverton*, *Hugan*, Sir *Francis Davison*, and some other of good place. Some say, that they were maimed with fire-locks; others, in the trenches; others in going with their captains to discover ambuscadoes of the enemy, and to view the forts; others, in standing sentry, whilst the captains were busied in entering the breach; others, in the very approach at the first. But the number of them is great, and the same inclined to do much mischief. Another sort there is, that pretend that they have protections to beg, in regard of their losses by shipwreck upon certain rocks of hazard, barred quarter-trays, high-men, and low-men, bom-cards, the sands of bowle-allies, the shelf of new-cut, the gulf of myne and gill, and such other like places of peril. Some of them are called by the names of *Harry Ordinary*, *Jack Moneyless*, *Will Cog-all*, and *Roger Spend-all*. These aforesaid people do gather together in great numbers; and his Excellency's subjects hereabouts stand in great fear of outrages by them to be committed, except his

Highness do prevent the same, and that speedily, by sending some of the Captains aforesaid to disperse them.

“Your Honour’s at command,

“HENRY BROWNBILL.

“From *Knightsbridge*, Jan. 5, 1594-5.”

Another Letter from Sea, directed to the Lord Admiral.

“By my letters given at *Pont-Holborn*, the last of December, I gave your Honour to understand, that his Excellency’s merchants of *Purpoole* began to surcease their traffick to *Clerkenwell*, *Newington* and *Bank-side*, and such like roads of charge and discharge, because they feared lest certain rovers, which lay hovering about the Narrow Seas, should intercept them in their voyages; since which time, may it please your Honour, I have discovered an huge Armado of French Amazons, to the number of seven hundred caracts, galeasses, great galeasses, and tall ships; besides pinnaces, frigots, carvels, shallops, and such small vessels innumerable; which being dispersed into sundry creeks, work daily much damage to all sorts of people, and adventurers hold in durance; not suffering one man to escape; till he have turned *French*. Divers ensigns, standards, pendants, tilting-staves; short trunchions for the principal officers, and such like provision for his Excellency’s triumphs, they have cast overboard; for no other cause, save that his subjects were bound inward from *Gelderland*, a nation that they have always hated; besides that, they exact so unreasonably of those that trade into *Netherland*, that they leave them neither lands, goods, nor good wares. Also they sink all those that use any dealings with the people of *Cleive*, without respect, whether he be merchant or man of war. To conclude, they burn all those vessels that

transport any dry wares into the *Low Countries*. Moreover, I am to advertise your Honour, that, on the 9th day of January, in the Straits of the Gulf of *Clerkenwell*, there was a hot skirmish between a merchant of *St. Giles*, called Amarpso, and the Admiral of the *Amazons*, called the *Rowse-flower*, wherein the merchant having gained the wind, came up with her in such close manner, that he brake his bolt-sprite in her hinder quarter; yet notwithstanding, the fight continued fiercely on either part two long hours and more; in which time our gunner, being a very expert soldier, shot her four or five times under water: then the merchant, perceiving his powder to be spent, was inforced to grapple; and so, with great resolution, laid her a-board on the waste, which he found stoutly defended by the *French*; yet, at length, being driven from their close fight, they were constrained to keep under hatches, where one of the soldiers entring, spied fire in the gun-room; notwithstanding, he descended very desperately. Then the admiral, seeing no hope to escape, fired her powder, and burnt herself, the soldiers, and the ship, which, as I after learned, was of an incomparable burden; insomuch, that she had been known to have borne nine hundred fighting men in her poop. Her chief lading was cochenella, musk, guaiacum, tabaco, and *Le grand Vezolle*. The chief of account that were blown up, were Catharina Dardana, Pecta de Lee, and Maria de Rotulis. The rich Carrick of *Newington*, coming to rescue their admiral, were so close at fight when she was fired, that the flame of the wild-fire caught hold of their captain's inner cabbin: and had not one Barbara de Chirurgia been ready with his syringe, to have cast on water, milk, lotium, and such like cooling liquors, and there quenched the wild-fire betimes, they had been both, doubtless, consumed to ashes; but, by his care and com-

ing, they are both escaped alive, though shrewdly scorched, and are taken prisoners. The whole number of them that perished in this hot conflict, is five hundred fifty-five; and prisoners ninety-nine. Our ship had no other hurt, save that she sprang her main-mast in such sort, as that she is not able to bear any high sail. Thus having advertised your Honour of every particular accident which I could learn, I am humbly to desire your Lordship to acquaint his Excellency and his Privy Council herewith; that such speedy order may be taken therein, as seemeth to their wisdoms most convenient. And so, with all duty, I kiss your hands.

“Your Honour’s servants,

JOHN PUTTANEMICO.

“From the Harbour of *Bridewell*, the 10th of January, 1594.”

There were also read like letters from *Stapulia* and *Bernardia*, of intelligences, and also from *Low Holborn*; wherein were set forth the plots of rebellion and insurrection, that those his Excellency’s subjects had devised against his Highness and State, and some other occurrences in those parts of his Highness’s dominions. And when they were read, the Prince made this Speech following:

“These suddain accidents (Lords) would make a Prince of little spirit suspect himself to be unfortunate. The *Stapulian* fallen away; the *Bernardian* holds out! News of tumults, treasons, conspiracies, commotions, treacheries, insurrections! Say our lands were sacked, our wealth spoiled, our friends slain, ourself forsaken, vanquished, captivated, and all the evils that might be were fallen upon us; yet could there be nothing so adverse, but that our fortitude and heighth of courage were

able to over-work. These events are not matters of moment, or of substance of our government: these are not misfortunes, but Fortune's jests, that gives them she loves not shews of good luck, that in the end she may do them greater spight; but, when she meaneth good, she prepares men with some little bitterness, that her good turns, when they come, may seem more pleasant and delightful. These events proceed of error in our former government, who should not have put great men, well loved or popular, into so great places of sovereignty; nor one man should possess so great a place, of so great command; by too much authority and greatness, a right good mind is oftentimes corrupted; in this late, we rather allow a severe man, somewhat hated: for better were a little profitable civil dissention, than a league and love that were likely to prove dangerous. Lords, you shall find it an harder matter to keep things once gotten, than at the first to obtain it. Hitherto no Prince in this world hath had better success than ourself. Men say, that sovereignty is uncertain, and an ill security; subject to cares, troubles, envy, treacheries, hate, fear, distrust; we have hitherto found none of those. That a Prince hath no sure friend, no faithful servant, no safe place, no quiet hour, no secure pleasure; all these have we, and more, in great abundance; and these things, which to other Princes have been the occasions of mishaps, have been to us the very instruments of pleasure, and much service. What Prince ever found in his subjects, in matters of weight, more love, more loyalty, more readiness, more service? When we have been inclined to solace, what liveliness, what alacrity, what ingenious devices, sports, jollities, what variety of pleasure! How have we been honoured with the presents of divers Princes, Lords, and men of great worth; who, confident in our

love, without fear or distrust, have come to visit us; by whose honourable kindness, we are to them for ever devinct, and most firmly bounden: How hath the favourable regard, and bright eyes of brave ladies shined upon our endeavors, which to their honours and service have been ever intended! How have we been gratulated with divers Ambassadors from divers Nations! What concourse of all people hath been continually at our Court, to behold our magnificence! Shall small matters therefore daunt us? Shall a few tumultuary disorders dismay us? Shall ill-guided insurrections trouble us, that are, like mushrooms, sprung up in a night, and rotten before the morning? We are loath to believe that there be such sparks of dissention and mischief: but, if there be, we will make haste to quench them, before they grow into violent flames; for it is no longer consulting, where a man cannot commend the counsel before he hath seen the effect. Nor shall it require the presence of a Prince to settle these small commotions. Lords, we send you to these places where need is; and, as occasion serveth, we will take order that garrisons be planted, citadels erected, and whatsoever else be performed, that shall be convenient to subject and bring under these unsettled provinces. Ourself, with Our chosen Knights, with an army Royal, will make towards Our Brother of *Russia*, with my Lord here, his Ambassador, presently to join with him against his enemies, the *Negarian Tartars*; more dreadful, the *Barbarian Tartars*; And if *Fortune* will not grace Our good attempt, as I am rightful Prince, and true Sovereign of the honourable Order of the *Helmet*, and by all those Ladies whom, in Knightly honour I love and serve, I will make the name of a *Gray-an Knight* more dreadful to the *Barbarian Tartars*, than the *Macedonian* to the wearied *Persians*, the *Roman* to

the dispersed *Britains*, or the *Castalian* to the weakened *Indians*. Gentle Ladies, be now benign and gracious to your Knights, that never pleased themselves but when their service pleased you; that for your sakes shall undertake hard adventures, that will make your names and beauties most famous, even in foreign regions. Let your favour kindle the vigour of their spirits, wherewith they abound; for they are the men by whom your fame, your honour, your virtue, shall be for ever advanced, protected and admired."

When the Prince had concluded, for his farewell he took a lady to dance withal, and so did the rest of the Knights and Courtiers; and after some time spent in revelling, the Prince took his way to his lodging, and so the company dissolved, and made an end of this night's work.

On the next morning his Highness took his journey towards *Russia*, with the Ambassador, and there he remained until Candelmas; at which time, after his glorious conquests abroad, his Excellency returned home again; in which the purpose of the Gentlemen was much disappointed by the Readers and Ancients of the House, by reason of the Term: so that very good inventions, which were to be performed in public at his entertainment into the house again, and two grand nights which were intended at his triumphal return, wherewith his reign had been conceitedly determined, were by the aforesaid Readers and Governors made frustrate, for the want of room in the hall, the scaffolds being taken away, and forbidden to be built up again (as would have been necessary for the good discharge of such a matter) thought convenient; but it shewed rather what was performed, than intended. Briefly, it was as followeth:

Upon the 28th of January, the hall being sate at dinner, with Readers, and all the rest of the House, suddainly sounded a trumpet; which being thrice done, there entered the King at Arms, and, in the midst of them, said as followeth:

“On the behalf of my Sovereign Lord, Sir HENRY, the Right Excellent and all-conquering Prince of *Purpoole*, Archduke of *Stapula* and *Bernardia*, Duke of *High* and *Nether Holborn*, Marquis of *St. Giles’s* and *Tottenham*, Count Palatine of *Bloomsbury* and *Clerkenwell*. Great Lord of the Cantons of *Islington*, *Kentish Town*, *Paddington* and *Knightsbridge*, Knight of the most heroical Order of the Helmet, and Sovereign of the same; I, his Excellency’s King at Arms, dispatched from his royal navy, triumphantly returning from his glorious conquests of the *Negarian Tartars*, do, in his Highness’s name, command all his officers, Knights and Pensioners, to give their attendance to his Highness’s person, at his port of *Black-wallia*, on the 1st of February. And his Highness hath further commanded me to give notice to all his servants within his dominions, of whatsoever condition, that they be ready to perform all offices of obedience and subjection, as well becometh their loyalty to so gracious a Sovereign.”

When this news of the Prince’s return out of Russia was thus sent abroad, and that it was known that his Highness was to come by Greenwich, where the Court then lay, it was given the Gentlemen to understand, that her Majesty did expect, that in passing by, our Prince should land, and do his homage; the rather because, in Christmas, there was great expectation of his coming thither, to present her Majesty with some pass-time, and none performed. Whereupon it was determined, that, in

passing by, there should be a letter directed to Sir Thomas Heneage, our honourable good friend, that he should excuse us for that time; which letter is hereafter set down.

Upon the 1st of February, the Prince and his train were met at Blackwall; from whence they came up the river of Thames, in a very gallant shew. Being come so near his own country, he left his navy of ships, as not fit for so short a cut, and the matter not being very great or dangerous; and he and his retinue took to them fifteen barges, bravely furnished with standards, pendants, flags, and streamers; there was also in every barge music and trumpets; and in some ordnance and shot. Being thus gallantly appointed, we came on our way by the Stairs at Greenwich, where the ordnance was shot off, and the whole navy made a sail round about; and the second time, when the Admiral, in which the Prince was, came directly before the Court Stairs, his Highness dispatched two Gentlemen with letters to the Right Honourable Sir *Thomas Heneage*. The copy whereof followeth:

“*Henry Prince of Purpoole* to the Right Honourable Sir
Thomas Heneage.

“Most Honourable Knight,

“I have now accomplished a most tedious and hazardous journey, though very honourable, into *Russia*; and returning within the view of the Court of your renowned Queen, my gracious Sovereign, to whom I acknowledge homage and service, I thought good, in passing by, to kiss her sacred hands, as a tender of the zeal and duty I owe unto her Majesty; but, in making the offer, I found my desire was greater than the ability of my body; which, by length of my journey, and my sick-

ness at sea, is so weakened, as it were very dangerous for me to adventure it. Therefore, most honourable friend, let me intreat you to make my humble excuse to her Majesty for this present: and to certifie her Highness, that I do hope, by the assistance of the Divine Providence, to recover my former strength about Shrovetide; at which time I intend to repair to her Majesty's Court (if it may stand with her gracious pleasure) to offer my service, and relate the success of my journey. And so praying your Honour to return me her Majesty's answer, I wish you all honour and happiness.

“Dated from ship-board, at our *Ark of Vanity*, the 1st of February 1594.”

The letter being delivered, and her Majesty made acquainted with the contents, her gracious answer was: “That if the letter had not excused his passing by, he should have done homage before he had gone away, although he had been a greater Prince than he was: yet,” she said, “she liked well his gallant shews, that were made at his triumphant return.” And her Highness added further. “That if he should come at Shrovetide, he and his followers should have entertainment according to his dignity.” And the messenger returned answer.

The Prince and his company continued their course until they came to the Tower; where, by her Majesty's commandment, he was welcomed with a volley of great ordnance, by the Lieutenant of the Tower. At the Tower-hill there waited for the Prince's landing, men attending with horses, very gallantly appointed, for all the company, to the number of one hundred; the most of them being great horses, and the rest very choice geldings; and all very bravely furnished with all things nec-

essary. So the Prince being mounted, and his company in order, as before set down, every man according to his office, with the ensign thereof, they rode very gallantly through Tower Street, Fenchurch Street, Gracechurch Street, Cornhill, Cheapside, and so through St. Paul's Church Yard; where, at St. Paul's school, his Highness was entertained with an oration, made by one of the scholars of that school; the copy whereof followeth:

“HENRICO, Illustrissimo & Potentissimo *Purpoolae* Principi, Archi-duci *Stapuliae & Bernardiae. Superioris & Inferioris Holborn Ducis, Sancti Aegidii & Tottenham Marchioni, de Clerkenwell & Bloomsbury Comiti Palatino, Domino magno Cantonum de Islington, Kentishtown, Paddington, & Knightsbridge, Heroici Ordinis Galeolae Equiti Aurato, & ejusdem Domino Serenissimo.*

“Importunum fortasse fuerit (*Purpooliensis* Princeps Serenissime) apud tantam Majestatem tuam tam intempestivo tempore perorare. Vix enim sperare ausum, velle te, qui tantam personam sustines tuumque hunc comitatum vere Aulicum, post victorias partas terrarumque maximas, ad vocem puerilem in media instructissimi triumphii solemnitate consistere. Verum per affabilitatem in summis principibus semper laudatissimam, liceat mihi prætereunti celsitudini tuæ musarum nostrarum benevolentiam offerre, & gratulationem hanc meam qualemcumque post tam illustrem tuum & triumphantem, ac per totum orbem divulgatum è *Russia* reditum, hac mea oratione Generosis omnibus testatum relinquere. Quamvis enim subito nobis excidat, & ad tantam Majestatem quasi obstupescat oratio, gratulatio tamen quæ magis sit offerri, quæque sit officii & amoris erga virtutes Generosas plenior afferri certe quidem non potest.

Nonne vides civitatem ipsam quasi sedibus suis convulsam ad congratulandum tanto Principi procedere? Quid existimas totum hunc concursum cogitare? In cujus ora vultusque horum omnium oculos coniectos putas? Quem sensum reddis amicorum nostrorum? Quid cupimus? Quid optamus? Quid agimus? Nonne ut tam voluntates nostras testemur, quam victoriis gratulemur tuis? Quid igitur mirum si schola, etiam nostra virtutum Generosarum emula, victoriis & triumphis illustrissimis gratulari gestiat? Perge igitur, & optimis auspiciis perge, Clarissime Princeps, ad *Purpooliense* palatium tuum redito, *Grayorum* oraculum, quo tanquam *Delphici Apollinis* voce fatidica omnes controversiæ dirimuntur. De *Hispano* hoste omnium Principum communi invadendo, consulito. Quàm facile tuus jam sanguine madens *Tartarorum* gladius præsertim, si *Templarios* tibi antiquo fœdere conjunctos in belli novi societatem asciscas, aliorum omnium & strictos gladios retundet, & clypeos excutiet? *Hispani invidia rumpantur ut Iliæ Codro*. Interim vero Musæ nostræ & præteritis tuis applaudent victoriis, & *Palladem* suam exorabunt antiquam *Grayorum*, ut te alterum jam *Agamemnonem*, qui multos habes *Achilles* & *Ulysses* Comites tuos, galea sua induat, clypeo protegat, & hasta (hostibus tuis omnibus fuis proffigatisque) in perpetuum conservat."

The Oration being ended, the Prince rewarded the boy very bountifully, and thanked them for their good wills, and forwardness to shew the same. Then we marched on our way, as before, by Ludgate, and through Fleet Street; where, as all the way else, the streets were so thronged and filled with people, that there was left but room for the horsemen that were to pass. In this state the Prince was conducted to *Gray's Inn*, where his Ex-

cellency was received by a peal of ordnance, and sound of trumpets, and all the good entertainment that all his loving subjects could make, to shew their love and loyalty to his Highness.

The Prince, being thus received, came, after supper, into the hall and there he danced and revelled among the Nobles, and others of his own Court; and in like manner they spent the day following: but there was no other performance, by reason of want of the stage and scaffolds, till Shrovetide, that they went to the Court: and the things that were then performed before her Majesty, were rather to discharge our own promise, than to satisfie the expectations of others. In that regard, the plot of those sports were but small; the rather, that tediousness might be avoided, and confused disorder, a thing which might easily happen in a multitude of actions; the sports therefore consisted of a mask, and some speeches that were as introductions to it; as followeth:

The Speakers.

An *Esquire* of the Prince's Company attended by a Tartarion Page.

Proteus the Sea-god, attended by two Tritons.

Thamesis and *Amphitrite*, who likewise were attended by their Sea-nymphs.

These five were musicians, which sung on the first coming on the Stage.

At the first coming on the Stage, the Nymphs and Tritons sung this Hymn following, in praise of Neptune.

Of Neptune's empire let us sing,
At whose command the waves obey,
To whom rivers tribute pay,
Down the high mountains sliding:
To whom the scaly nation yields
Homage for their chrystal fields,
Wherein they dwell.
And every Sea-god praise again,
Yearly out of his wat'ry cell,
To deck great Neptune's diadem.

The Tritons dancing in a ring,
Before his palace-gates, do make
The waiters (*sic*) with their trumpets quake,
Like the great thunder sounding.
The Sea-nymphs chaunt their accents shrill,
And the Syrens taught to kill
With their sweet voice,
Make every echoing voice reply
Unto their gentle mourning noise,
In praise of Neptune's empery.

Which being ended, the Speakers made their Speeches
in order as followeth:

Esquire.

Proteus, it seems you lead a merry life;
Your music follows you where-e'er you go.
I thought you Sea-gods, as in your abode,
So in your nature, had not been unlike
To fishes; the which, as say philosophers,
Have so small sense of music's delight,
As 'tis a doubt not fully yet resolv'd,
Whether of hearing they have sense or no.

Proteus.

'Twas great discourse of reason, to regard
The dreaming guess of a philosopher,
That never held his idle buzzing head
Under the water half an hour's space;
More than that famous old received history
Of good Arion, by a dolphin saved.

Esquire.

Well, let that pass, and to the purpose now;
I thought that you, that are a demy-god,
Would not have fail'd my expectation thus.

Proteus.

Why so, fair 'Squire? Is not my promise kept,
And duly the appointed time observ'd?

Esquire.

Yes; and 'tis that in which I rest deceiv'd:
I rather deem'd, and not without good cause,
That those still floating regions where you hide,
And th' ever changing nature that you have,
Nought else but breach of promise, promised.

Proteus.

'Twere strange if that my word, which credit keeps,
In future things, and hidden secrecies,
Should fondly fail in keeping promise made:
Fondly indeed, when 'tis for my avail.
Here are the rocks; your person, or your prize.
But tell me, 'Squire; where's th' appointed place,
In which we shall these vaunted wonders see?

Esquire.

Well may you wonders term them, Proteus:
For these are wonders that pass human wit:
These shall surpass thy wit, though half divine.
But, for to put you out of further doubt,
This is the place, where all those promises,
Agreed upon betwixt the Prince and you,
Shall be perform'd; and shall be so perform'd,
So far beyond your doubting expectation,
So far beyond his modest declaration.
And you shall say, thrice happy Proteus;
Whose ears unblessed were to bless mine eyes.

Amphitrite.

Your fair set speeches make us two amazed.
But tell us, 'Squire, what be those promises,
And those agreed covenants? And whereon
Did they arise 'twixt Proteus and your Prince?

Esquire.

Fair Amphitrite, I will tell you all.
After the victory at Austrican
Had made an end of the Tartian war,
And quite dispers'd our vanquish'd enemies
Unto their hords, and huge vast wilderness;
Our noble Prince, and his courageous Knights,
Whose untry'd valour, in the battle fought,
Was rather warm'd, than fully exercis'd,
Finding no enterprise that did deserve
Th' employment of their brave united force,
After assignment of a day and place,
Where both himself and all his Knights should meet,
Dispers'd themselves into many sundry quests,
To seek adventures as they should befall.

The Prince himself, who only was attended
 By me his 'Squire, had many strange exploits;
 Which, since they shortly shall be put in print,
 Join'd with Prince Arthur's famous chronicle,
 I shall not now need to repeat at large.
 Amongst the rest, when as the time approach'd,
 That, as it was assign'd, we should all meet,
 It thus fell out: the Prince one sun-shine day,
 Resting himself within a goodly tuft
 Of tall streight fir-trees that adorn'd the shore,
 Reading a letter, lately sent to him
 From one of his brave Knights, that did import,
 How he, in token of his duteous love,
 And for a trophy of his victories,
 Had lately sent him a commodity
 Of pigmies, taken in a private conquest,
 Resting and residing; suddainly he espy'd
 Of porpoises a great unusual flock
 Playing and springing in the climbing waves.
 Drawn with this sight still nearer to the shore,
 Mounting a little cliff, he soon discern'd
 A cave, whose frame seem'd more than natural;
 And viewing near with wary heedful eyes,
 At length he spy'd this fish hard there asleep;
 Whom by his head and haviour he suspected
 To be this Proteus; as it was indeed.
 Our Prince streight, ready at his Fortune's call,
 With easie stealing steps drew near to him:
 And being near, with great agility.
 Seized suddainly upon this demy-god.
 He thus surpris'd; resorted presently
 To his familiar arts, and turning tricks.
 My Lord, like to a skilful Falconer,
 Continu'd still to keep his fast'ned hold.

Thamesis.

The story of those oft transformed shapes,
I long to hear from you that present were,
And an eye-witness of that strange conflict.

Esquire.

And shall fair Thamesis know then, that Proteus,
Viewing the gallant shape and budding youth
Of my brave Lord, the form that first he took,
Was of a goodly Lady, passing fair;
Hoping, belike, that whilst he us'd respect
Due to her matchless beauty, and her sex,
Himself being now unloos'd, might slide away:
But finding him that knew his wily shifts,
Embrace him straiter in that feigned shape,
Next, to a Serpent he transform'd himself,
With fiery eyes, and dreadful blackish scales,
And three-fork'd hissing tongue, that might affright
Th' undaunted Master of dread Cerberus;
Pressing with double strength his scaled crest;
Wherewith the Prince, rather enrag'd than fear'd,
Made him betake him to another form;
Which was, a sumptuous Casket, richly wrought,
Whereout, when it open'd, many diadems,
And rubies of inestimable worth,
Seemed by chance to drop into the sea.
This working nought but scorn, and high disdain,
He lastly shew'd him a sad spectacle,
Which was, the North-east of his valiant Knights.
And best beloved of my Lord, the Prince,
Mangled and prick'd with many a grisly wound,
Welt'ring their valiant limbs in purple goar,
Gasping, and closing their faint dying eyes.

This with the Prince, now us'd to his delusions
 Prevail'd no more, than did the rest before.
 When Proteus then had chang'd his changing weed,
 And fix'd himself in his own wonted shape,
 Seeing no other means could ought prevail,
 He ransom profer'd for his liberty.
 And first of all, he offer'd to aread
 To him, and unto all his Knights, Fortune's spell.
 But when my Lord reply'd, that that was fit
 For unresolved cowards to obtain;
 And how his Fortune's often changing play,
 Would lose the pleasure of his chief delight,
 If the catastrophe should be before known:
 Then offer'd he huge treasures, Ladies' Loves,
 Honour and Fame, and famous Victories.
 My Lord made answer, "That he never would
 Offer his honour so great wrong, to take,
 By gift or magic, without sweat or pain,
 Labour or danger, Virtue's truest prize,
 That which by mortal hand might be atchiev'd;
 And therefore willed him, as demy-god,
 To offer somewhat that might be above
 The lowly compass of an human power."
 When Proteus saw the Prince could make his match,
 He told him then, that under th' Artic Pole
 The Adamantine Rock, the Sea's true Star
 Was situate; which, by his power divine,
 He, for this ransom, would remove, and plant
 Whereas he should appoint: assuring him,
 That the wild empire of the Ocean
 (If his fore-telling spirit fail'd him not)
 Should follow that, wher e'er it should be set,
 But then again, he added this condition,
 Which, as he thought, would no way be perform'd;

That first the Prince should bring him to a Power,
Which in attractive virtue should surpass
The wondrous force of his Iron-drawing rocks.
My Lord, that knew himself as well assured,
As Proteus thought his own match surely made,
Easily yielded to his covenant;
And promis'd further, on his Princely word,
That he himself, and seven of his Knights,
Wou'd enter hostages into the rock,
Which should be brought to the appointed place,
Till this great Covenant should be perform'd,
Which now rests to be done. Now, Proteus,
Since 'tis a Question of comparison,
Blazon you forth the virtue of your rock

Proteus,

What needeth words, when great effects proclaim
Th' attractive virtue of th' Adamantine Rocks,
Which forceth iron, which all things else commands.
Iron, of metals Prince by ancient right;
Though factious men in vain conspire to seat
Rebellious Gold in his usurped throne.
Thus, sundry metals, of such strength and use
(Disjoin'd by distance o' th' whole hemisphere)
Continually, with trembling aspect,
True subject-like, eyes his dread Sovereign.
Thus hath this Load-stone, by his powerful touch,
Made the iron-needle, Load-star of the World,
A Mercury, to paint the gayest way
In Wat'ry Wilderness, and Desert Sands;
In confidence whereof, the assured Mariner
Doth not importune Jove, Sun, or Star.
By his attractive force, was drawn to light,
From depth of ignorance, that new found world,

Whose golden mines Iron found out and conquer'd
These be the virues, and extend so far,
Which you do take to counterpraise.

Esquire.

Proteus, the seas have taught your speech to swell,
Where work of mind doth wat'ry castles make.
But calm awhile your over-weening vaunts:
Prepare belief, and do not use your eyes.

Excellent QUEEN, true Adamant of Hearts;
Out of that sacred garland ever grew
Garlands of Virtues, Beauties, and Perfections,
That Crowns your Crown, and dims your Fortune's
beams,
Vouchsafe some branch, some precious flower, or
leaf,
Which, though it wither in my barren verse.
May yet suffice to overshadow and drown
The rocks admired of this demy-god.
Proteus, stout Iron-homager to your rock,
In praise of Force, and Instruments of wars,
Hath praise ended: yet place our praises right;
For Force to Will, and Wars to Peace to yield.
But that I'll give you. This I would fain know,
What can your Iron do without Arms of Men?
And Arms of Men from Hearts of Men do move:
That Hearts of Men hath it, their motion springs.
Lo, Proteus, then, the attractive Rock of Hearts:
Hearts, which once truly touched with her Beams,
Inspiring purest zeal and reverence
As well unto the Person, as the Power,
Do streight put off all temper that is false,

All hollow fear, and schooled flattery,
 Turn Fortune's wheel, they ever keep their point.
 And stand direct upon the Loyal Line.
 Your Rock claims kindred of the Polar Star,
 Because it draws the Needle to the North;
 Yet even that Star gives place to Cynthia's rays,
 Whose drawing virtues govern and direct
 The flots and reflots of the ocean.
 But Cynthia, praised be your wat'ry reign,
 Your influence in Spirits have no place.
 This Cynthia high doth rule those heavenly tides,
 Whose sovereign grace, as it doth wax or wain,
 Affections so, and Fortune's ebb and flow:
 Sometimes their waves applauding on the Shore,
 Sometimes retiring to their narrow depths,
 The holy Syrians draw pilgrims from all parts,
 To pass the mountains, seas, and desert sands.
 Unto this living Saint have Princes high,
 Of Foreign lands, made vowed pilgrimage.
 What excellencies are there in this frame,
 Of all things, which her virtue doth not draw?
 The Quintessence of Wits, the Fire of Loves,
 The Art of Fame, Metals of Courages,
 And by her Virtue long may fixed be
 The Wheel of Fortune, and the Carr of Time.
 In the Protection of this mighty Rock,
 In *Britain* land, whilst tempests abroad,
 The lordly and the lowly shepherd both,
 In plenteous peace have fed their happy flocks.
 Upon the force of this inviolate Rock,
 The giant-like attempts of Power unjust
 Have suffer'd wreck. And, Proteus, for the Seas,
 Whose Empire large your praised Rock assures:
 Your gift is void, it is already here;

As *Russia, China* and *Negellan's Strait*
Can witness here, well may your presence be
Impressa, apt thereof; but sure, not cause.
Fisher divine, congratulate yourself,
Your eyes, hath won more than your State hath lost;
Yield Victory, and Liberty, and Thanks.

Proteus.

Against the Truth, that's Lands and Seas above,
It fits no Proteus make a vain reply.
The shallop may not with small ships contend,
Nor windy bubble with a billow strive,
Nor earthly things compare with greatest Queen
That hath and shall a regal sceptre sway.
Bless'd be that Prince that forc'd me see this Grace,
Which worldly Monarchies, and Sea-Powers adore.
Take Thanks of Gift, and Liberty of Due.

When these Speeches were thus delivered, Proteus, with his bident (*sic*) striking of adamant, which was mentioned in the Speeches, made utterances for the Prince, and his seven Knights, who had given themselves as hostages for the performance of the Covenants between the Prince and Proteus, as is declared in the Speeches. Hereat Proteus, Amphitrite, and Thamesis, with their attendants, the Nymphs and Tritons, went unto the rock, and then the Prince and the seven Knights issued forth of the rock, in a very stately mask, very richly attired, and gallantly provided of all things meet for the performance of so great an enterprise. They came forth of the rock in couples, and before every couple came two pigmies with torches. At their first coming on the Stage, they danced a new devised measure, &c. After which, they took unto them Ladies; and with them they danced their galliards,

courants, &c. And they danced another new measure; after the end whereof, the pigmies brought eight escutcheons, with the maskers devices thereupon, and delivered them to the Esquire, who offered them to her Majesty; which being done, they took their order again, and, with a new strain, went all into the rock; at which time there was sung another new Hymn within the rock.

The second Hymn, which was sung at the departure of the Maskers into the Rock.

Shadows before the shining Sun do vanish:
Th' iron-forcing Adamant doth resign
His virtues, where the Diamond doth shine,
Pure Holiness doth all Inchantments blemish (*sic*);
And Councillors of false Principality
Do fade in presence of true Majesty.

Shepherds sometimes in Lion's-skins were cloath'd;
But when the Royal Lion doth appear,
What wonder if the silly swains, for fear,
Their bravery, and Princely pall have loath'd?
The Lion's-skin, that grac'd our vanity,
Falls down in presence of her Majesty.

The Impresses which the Maskers used upon their Escutcheons, for their Devices.

H. Helms, Prince. In a bark of a cedar-tree, the character E engraven. *Crescetis*.

W. Cooke. In a plain shield, as it were Abrassa tabula.
Quid ipsa velis.

Jarvis Tevery. A tortoise, with his head out of the shell.
Obnoxia.

Joh. Lambert. A torch by the sun. *Quis furor.*

Molineux. A river with many turnings running into the sea. *Semper ad mare.*

Crimes. A flag streaming in the wind. *Famamque fovemus inanem.*

Paylor. A sail and an oar together. *Fors & Virtus miscentur in unum.*

Campnies. A flag of fire wavering upwards. *Tremet & ardet.*

For the present her Majesty graced every one; particularly, she thanked his Highness for the performance of all that was done; and wished that their sports had continued longer, for the pleasure she took therein; which may well appear from her answer to the Courtiers, who danced a measure immediately after the mask was ended, saying, "What! shall we have bread and cheese after a banquet?" Her majesty willed the Lord Chamberlain, that the gentlemen should be invited on the next day, and that he should present them unto her. Which was done, and her Majesty gave them her hand to kiss, with most gracious words of commendations to them particularly, and in general of *Gray's-Inn*, as an House she was much beholden unto, for that it did always study for some sports to present unto her.

The same night there was fighting at barriers; the Earl of Essex and others challengers, and the Earl of Cumberland and his company defendants; into which number our Prince was taken, and behaved himself so valiantly and skilfully therein, that he had the prize adjudged due unto him, which it pleased her Majesty to de-

liver him with her own hands, telling him, "That it was not her gift; for if it had, it should have been better; but she gave it him as that prize which was due to his desert and good behaviour in those exercises; and that hereafter he should be remembered with a better reward from herself." The prize was a jewel set with seventeen diamonds and four rubies, in value accounted worth an hundred marks.

Thus, on Shrove Tuesday, at the Court, were our sports and revels ended: so that our Christmas would not leave us, till such time as Lent was ready to entertain us, which hath always been accounted a time most apt, and wholly dedicated to repentance. But now our Principality is determined, which although it shined very bright in ours and others' darkness, yet, at the Royal Presence of her Majesty, it appeared as an obscured shadow: in this, not unlike unto the Morning-star, which looketh very chearfully in the World, so long as the Sun looketh not on it: or, as the Great Rivers, that triumph in the Multitude of their Waters, until they come unto the Sea. *Sic vinci, sic mori pulchrum!*

INDEX

(To Introduction)

Alleyn, Edward.....	xxxviii, xli
Bacon, Anthony.....	viii, lvi, lvii, lxi, lxii, lxiii
Bacon, Francis, iii, iv, v, x, xi, xii, xiii, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, xx, xxiii, xxiv, xxvii, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxix, xl, xli, xlii, l, li, lii, liii, liv, lviii, lxi, lxiii, lxxi, lxxiii, lxxvi, lxxvii, lxxxiii.	
Bacon, Friar.....	lxx, lxxi, lxxvi
Bacon, Roger.....	lxx, lxxi
Bellott, Stephen.....	lxii
Bollivant, Edmund.....	xxxlii
Bruce, John.....	xi
Buc, Sir George.....	xlili, xli
Buckhurst, Lord.....	ix, xli
Bullen, A. H.....	viii
Bungay, Friar.....	lxx, lxxvi
Burbage, Cuthbert.....	xiv
Burbage, James.....	xiv
Burbage, Richard.....	xxxix, xli
Burleigh, Lord.....	xli, xlii
Caesar, Sir Julius.....	lviii
Campbell, Lord.....	lii
Campion, Edward.....	xxiii
Campion, Thomas.....	vi, xli, xviii, xix, xx, xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxiv
Canning, W.....	iv, xi, xli
Carey, Sir Henry.....	xi, xlii
Carleton, Dudley.....	lxi
Cecil, Anne.....	xlii
Cecil, Sir Robert.....	ix, lii, liv
Cecil, William, Lord.....	xvi, xli, xlii, xlii
Chamberlain, John.....	lii, lxi, lxii
Charles I, King.....	lxiii
Chettle, Henry.....	xxxvii
Clement IV, Pope.....	lxxi
Coke, Sir Edward.....	iv, xvi, xxxiv, lvii, lviii, lix
Condell, Henry.....	xv
Compton, Lord.....	xiv
Cooke, Edward.....	xxv
Cooke, John.....	xxv
Cooke, William.....	xxxiv
Cumberland, George Clifford, Earl of.....	ix, xxv, xxvii
Curle, Mr. Auditor.....	i
Davenant, William.....	lxiv
Davies, John, of Hereford.....	lxv
Davison, Christopher.....	ix
Davison, Francis.....	vi, vii, viii, ix, xii, xx, lvii
Davison, Sir William.....	viii, ix
Derby, Earl of.....	xli, xlvii
Dobell, Bertram.....	xlii
Donne, Dr. John.....	lxi
Dudley, Sir Robert.....	x

Dyer, Sir Edward.....	lxi
East, Thomas.....	xxxiii
Elizabeth, Queen.....	iv, viii, xiii, xxi, xxviii xlv, lii
Erb, Frederic W.....	lv
Essex, Earl of.....	viii, ix, xiv, xv, xxv, xxvii, liii, lxi, lxii
Falstaff, Sir John.....	liii
Field, Nathaniel.....	lx
Field, Bishop Theophilus.....	lx
Fish, Simon.....	xxiv
Fletcher, Anthony.....	xxv
Gascoigne, George.....	xxiv, lxix
Gesta, Grayorum, iii, iv, v, vi, ix, x, xi, xii, xiii, xvii, xxiii, xxv, xxvii, xxxiii, xxxv, xli, xlii, xlvi.	
Goodere, Sir Henry.....	lxi
Gray, Lords.....	xxvii
Greene, Robert, xxxviii, lv, lxvii, lxviii, lxix, lxx, lxxiii, lxxiv, lxxv, lxxvi	
Guizo, Stufano.....	xxxii
Hamlet.....	xv, xlvi, xvi, lx, lxi, lxxviii, lxix
Helme, Sir Henry.....	vii, x, xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxviii
Heminge, John.....	xiv, xv, lx
Henneage, Sir Thomas.....	ix, li
Herbert, Sir Henry.....	xliv, lxiii, lxiv
Herbert, Philip.....	lxiv
Heywood, Jasper.....	lxi
Hobby, Sir Edward.....	xliv, xlv
Hobby, Sir Thomas.....	xxxiii
Howard, Lord Thomas.....	ix
Hunsdon, Lord.....	xi
James I, King.....	xxviii
Jonson, Ben.....	lxiv
John, of London.....	lxxi, lxxiii
Johannes, Factotum.....	lxxi
Johannes, Peur.....	lxx, lxxi
Keepe, Henry.....	xii
Kempe, William.....	xxxix, lix, lx, lxi
Killigrew, Sir Robert.....	lxiii
Killigrew, Thomas.....	lxiii, lxiv
Killigrew, William.....	lxiii
Lillie, John.....	xxv
Lodge, Thomas.....	xlvii, xli, xlvi, lxi, lxxviii
Lucy, Sir Thomas.....	xxxiv
Lucy, Sir Thomas, wife of.....	liii
Lyly, John.....	xii, xlv
Manningham, John.....	lviii
Manwood, Sir Roger.....	lvii, lviii
Meres, Francis.....	xix, xxxix
Monteagle, Lord.....	ix
Montgomery, Philip Herbert, Earl of.....	lxiv
Montjoy, Lord.....	ix
Montjoy, Mary.....	lxii
Montjoy, the Tire-maker.....	lxii
Nashe, Thomas.....	xxxvii, xxxviii, xlvi, lx, lxvii, lxviii, lxix
Navarre, Henry, King of.....	lvi
Nichols, John.....	xii
Northumberland, Earl of.....	ix

Northumberland, Duke of.....	xi
Northumberland, Manuscript.....	ix
Noy, Reports.....	iv
Oxford, Earl of.....	xlvi
Paulet, Sir Amias.....	viii
Phillips, Augustine.....	xiv
Phillipps, Halliwell.....	xi, xii, lxv, lxvi
Portpoole, Prince of, viii, x, xviii, xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxviii, xxix, xxxi, xxxii, xxxvi.	
Rowe, Nicholas.....	xlvi
Russell, Lady Elizabeth.....	xlv, xlviii
Russell, John, Lord.....	xliv
Russell, Thomas.....	xlv
Sackville, Thomas.....	xii
Shagbag, Johannis.....	xxxvi
Shakescene.....	xxxviii, lxx
Shakespeare, William, iii, iv, xi, xiii, xiv, xix, xxxi, xxxiv, xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix, xl, xli, xlii, xliii, xlv, xlvi, xli, l, lii, lx, lxiv, lxv, lxvi, lxvii, lxxi, lxxiii.	
Sidney, Sir Philip.....	xxxiii, lxi
Smith, Hon. Mathew.....	iv, xi
Smith, Thomas.....	xxv
Shrewsbury, Earl of.....	ix
Southampton, Countess of.....	liii, lii
Southampton, Earl of.....	ix, xii, l, li, lii, lii
Spedding, James.....	v, vi, xxi
Spencer, Edmund.....	xxxvii
Stanley, William, Earl of Derby.....	xlvi
Tilney, Edmund.....	xliii, xlii
Tompkins, Thomas.....	xxv
Trott, Nicholas.....	xxiv
Tyrwhitt.....	lxvii
Underhill, William Gent.....	lxvi, lxvii
Underhill, Hercules.....	lxvii
Vernon, Elizabeth.....	lii, liii
Vere, Susan, Countess of Montgomery.....	xliv
Wallace, C. W., Dr.....	xv, lx, lxv
Wentworth, Philip.....	xxv
White, W. A.....	iv
Wiler, Master Rogers.....	lix
Windsor, Lord.....	ix
Wither George.....	lxix
Wolsey, Cardinal.....	xxiv
Wriothsley, Henry, 3d Earl of Southampton.....	xii
Yelverton, Christopher.....	xxiv, xxv, xxvii
Yelverton, Mabel.....	xxvi
Yelverton, William.....	xxv, xxvi

INDEX

(To Essays)

Alleyn, Giles.....	84, 85
Aurelius, Abraham.....	151
Bacon, Anne, Lady...27, 50, 51, 59, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 101, 102,	129
Bacon, Anthony...27, 52, 62, 63, 67, 84, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 151, 156,	161
Bacon, Sir Edmund.....	22, 27, 28, 108
Bacon, Edward.....	22, 51, 52, 108
Bacon, Francis, 2, 3, 6, 14, 18, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35	
36, 37, 38, 42, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 61, 62, 65, 67, 68, 77	
79, 83, 84, 86, 87, 89, 90, 92, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104,	105
107, 120, 123, 128, 129, 134, 136, 140, 144, 145, 147, 149, 151, 155	
156, 158, 159, 160, 168.	
Bacon, Francis, Vicar of Ansley	187, 188
Bacon, Henry.....	168
Bacon, Jane, Lady.....	22
Bacon, John.....	107, 149
Bacon, Margaret.....	22
Bacon, Margery.....	108
Bacon, Mathias.....	28, 29
Bacon, Matthew.....	29, 30, 31
Bacon, Nathaniel.....	52
Bacon, Sir Nathaniel.....	22
Bacon, Sir Nicholas.....20, 22, 27, 50, 52, 59, 83, 91, 119, 143, 152,	157
Bacon, Sir William.....	22
Bacon, Thomas.....	22
Bacoun, The Abbot.....	56
Bakon, Will.....	158
Basshe, Edward, Esq.....	82
Bayning, Paul, Viscount.....	145
Beeston, Hugh.....	131, 134
Belknap, Sir Edward.....	158
Belknap, Elizabeth.....	57
Belknap, Sir Henry.....	57
Belknaps, The.....	158, 160
Belott, Stephen.....	151
Belott, Thomas.....	152
Bettenham, Jermy.....	41
Boleyn, Anne.....	20
Breton, Nicholas.....	149
Brooke, Elizabeth.....	104
Brooke, Henry.....	27, 104
Buc, Sir George.....14, 16, 27, 28, 31, 32,	33
Buck, John.....	16
Bucke, George.....	124
Buckingham, Earl of.....	31
Brydges, Sir Egerton.....	162
Burbage, Cuthbert.....83, 85, 86, 135,	140
Burbage, James.....27, 64, 79, 83,	135
Burbage, Richard.....15, 23, 66,	79
Burbage, Robert.....	79, 185

Burbage, Thomas.....	79, 82,	83
Burbage, William.....		84
Butler, Sir John.....		82
Butts, Sir William.....	20, 21, 22, 154,	155
Camden, William.....		28
Carey, Sir George.....		27
Carey, Sir Henry	25, 26, 27, 63,	68
Carey, Margaret.....		26, 68
Carleton, Sir Dudley.....	130, 132, 133, 137, 138, 144,	145
Castol, John.....		151
Caulton, Anne.....		59
Cecil, Anne, Countess of Oxford.....		162, 165
Cecil, Mildred.....		59
Cecil, Sir Robert.....	37, 47, 48, 100, 101, 104, 108, 128,	131
Cecil, William, Lord Burleigh.....	26, 47, 59, 128, 135, 152, 156, 163,	165
Chamberlain, John.....	136, 137, 140, 142, 143, 144,	148
Chaucer, Thomas.....		108
Chester, Robert.....		79
Chester, Sir Robert.....		82
Cobham, Lord.....	27, 104,	148
Coke, Sir Edward.....	35, 37, 38, 39, 62, 63, 107,	108
Collier, Payne.....		120, 177
Colepepper, Thomas.....		57
Combe, John.....		64, 140
Cook, Sir Anthony.....	57, 58, 59,	105
Cook, William.....	52, 62,	63
Cooke, Anne.....		53
Cooke, Sir Anthony.....	50, 77, 78,	83
Cooke, Elizabeth.....		68
Cooke, James.....		72
Cooke, Sir John Phillip.....		57
Cooke, Margaret.....	54, 83,	88
Cooke, Mildred.....	47, 59, 86,	156
Cooke, Sir Thomas.....	18, 57, 59, 62, 105, 106,	107
Cooke, William.....		86
Cooke, Sir William.....	54, 62, 63,	79
Cope, Sir Walter.....	131, 134,	135
Cope, Watt.....	131, 132,	144
Copley, Sir Thomas.....		160
Cornwallis, Sir William.....		22
Cromwell, Thomas.....	19,	20
Curle, Mr. Auditor.....		1
Dandy, Arthur.....	118,	119
Daundie, Thomas.....		118
Davies, John of Hereford.....		118
De Arden, William.....		57
De Bret, William.....		57
De la Poole, Alice.....		108
De la Poole, William.....		108
De Reinahme, Astanius.....		152
Deveraux, Walter.....		110
Donnelly, Ignatius.....	34,	37
Drayton, Michael.....	30, 53, 54, 56, 59, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77,	108
Dudley, Ambrose.....		50
Dudley, Robert.....		50
Dugdale, Sir William.....		59

Dyer, Lord Chief Justice.....	122
Edgerton, Sir Thomas.....	46, 99
Edmunds, Sir Thomas.....	135
Edward IV, King.....	17
Elizabeth, Queen....	3, 25, 27, 47, 50, 58, 63, 66, 80, 87, 108, 132, 147, 168
Essex, Earl of.....	26, 28, 48, 63, 99, 100, 109, 110, 143, 145, 147, 148
Falstaff, Sir John.....	105, 107, 110, 112, 116, 118
Fastolf, Alice.....	107
Fastolfe, Anne.....	118
Fastolf, Henry.....	20
Fastolf, John.....	107
Fastolf, Sir John, 18, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118.....	115
Fastolf, Lionell.....	107
Fastolf, Millicent.....	115
Fastolf, Nicholas.....	113
Fastolf, Thomas.....	107, 112, 113
Fastolf, Thomas.....	110
Fenton, Roger.....	5, 6
Ferne, Sir John.....	129
Field, Richard.....	64, 138
Fitzroy, Henry.....	20
Fitz-William, Anne.....	58
Fitz-William, Sir William.....	58
Pitton, Anne, Lady Newdigate.....	86
Fleetwood, William.....	91, 159
Fletcher, Giles.....	87
Fletcher, John.....	136
Fletcher, Reginald J.....	87
Fortescue, Sir John.....	98, 99
Gardiner, Stephen.....	19
Gascoyne, William.....	18, 169, 173
Giles, Karoll.....	115
Gilbert, Dr.....	131, 137, 144
Glenham, Anne, Lady.....	145
Glenham, Sir Henry.....	145
Goodere, Anne.....	53
Goodere, Frances.....	52, 53, 76
Goodere, Henry.....	53
Goodere, Sir Henry.....	52, 53, 54, 60, 71, 75, 76, 77
Goodere, William.....	53
Goodier, Sir Francis.....	53
Goss, Charles W. F.....	150, 152
Gray, Elizabeth.....	57
Gray, Lady Jane.....	76
Greville, Fulke.....	63, 90
Grey, Elizabeth, Lady.....	57
Greene, Robert.....	64, 122, 162
Greenwood, Sir George.....	155
Guy, John.....	13
Hales, Dame.....	126
Hales, Sir James.....	123
Hall, Dr. John.....	72
Hamlet,.....	120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127
Harvéy, Dr. William.....	145

Hartopp, George.....	155
Hardreskull, William de.....	56
Haut, Sir William.....	57
Hayward, John.....	145
Heminge, John.....	33, 34
Heneage, Sir Thomas.....	27, 28, 101, 125
Herbert, George.....	32
Herbert, Sir Henry.....	26, 31, 33
Herbert, Philip, Earl of Montgomery.....	31, 32, 33, 34, 168
Herbert, William, Earl of Pembroke.....	31, 33, 34
Heron, Mr. A.....	5
Heywood, Jasper.....	124, 125
Hicks, Sir Michael.....	6, 144
Hobby, Sir Edward.....	26, 68
Hobey, Sir Thomas.....	68, 83
Hudson, James.....	86
Hudson, John.....	86
Hudson, Richard.....	84, 85, 86
Hunsdon, First Lord.....	27
Hunsdon, Second Lord.....	25, 26, 27, 63, 68
Hyde, John.....	135
Jessopp, Augustus.....	156
Jonson, Ben.....	30, 31, 73, 74, 75, 106, 120, 136, 147
Johnson, William.....	34, 37, 40, 41, 43, 44
Jones, Ed.....	40
Kempe, Robert.....	98
Kempe, William.....	45, 66
King Edward VI.....	50, 51
Killigrew, Sir Henry.....	59
Killigrew, Katharine.....	59
Knight, Robert.....	87, 88
Lea, Sir Harry.....	142
Lea, Sir Richard.....	142
Lee, Sir Sidney.....	124
Leicester, Earl of.....	50
Lorkin, Thomas.....	22, 23
Lucy, Joyce.....	54, 59, 62, 63
Lucy, Sir Thomas.....	54, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 79
Lupus, Hugh.....	55, 62
Manningham, John.....	1
Marchall, William.....	170
Maxey, Amias.....	86
Maxey, Sir Henry.....	86
Markham, Sir John.....	17, 18
Mathew, Tobie.....	32, 52, 130, 131
Meautys, Sir Thomas.....	22, 32
Meschines, Ranueph de.....	55
Mills, William.....	41
Moleyns, Sir William.....	108
Montjoy, Christopher.....	151, 153, 155
More, Sheriff.....	44, 48
Moore, Sir William.....	83
Morgan, Dr. Appleton.....	46
Nashe, Thomas.....	120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 154
Neville, Sir Henry.....	143
Norton, John.....	138

Norfolk, Duke of.....	163
Noy, Sir William.....	44
Ockhold, Richard.....	16
Oldcastle, Sir John.....	103, 104, 112
Osborne, Alice.....	168
Osborne, Frances.....	168
Osborne, John.....	168
Osborne, Thomas.....	84, 85
Oxford, Anne, Countess of.....	162, 165
Oxford, Edward de Vere, Earl of.....	162, 163
Parker, Catherine.....	53
Parker, Edmond.....	58
Parker, Michael.....	58
Parker, Ralph.....	56
Parker, William.....	53
Paulett, Sir Amlas.....	51, 95, 97
Paulett, Lady.....	95, 96
Parsons, Father.....	158, 157
Paston, Bridget.....	107
Paston, Sir John.....	115
Paston, John.....	115, 116
Pembroke, Philip Herbert, Earl of.....	65
Phillips, Halliwell.....	23
Pole, Thomas.....	159
Poynings, Edward.....	107
Puckeringe, John.....	29
Puckeringe, Sir Thomas.....	22
Purefooy, Francis.....	56
Quarles, Edmund.....	118
Quarles, Francis.....	118
Quiney, Judith.....	73
Rainsford, Sir Henry.....	76
Raleigh, Sir Walter.....	23, 108
Rawley, William, Chaplain.....	60
Reynolds, Henry, Esq.....	71, 73
Riche, Barnaby.....	152
Rivers, Lady.....	18
Rivers, Lord.....	18
Rowlett, Radus.....	88
Rowlett, Sir Ralph.....	53, 54, 82, 83, 88
Russell, Anne.....	147
Russell, Elizabeth, Lady.....	50, 59, 147
Russell, Sir John.....	50, 59
Sackville, Sir Edward.....	32
Scrope, Mellicent.....	106
Scrope, Poulett.....	116, 169
Scrope, Sir Stephen.....	118, 119, 176
Segar, William.....	15, 43
Seymour, Jane.....	20
Shakespeare, William, 1, 3, 4, 14, 18, 20, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 50, 52, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 72, 73, 75, 79, 84, 89, 90, 93, 97, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 110, 118, 123, 124, 126, 128, 129, 136, 140, 145, 149, 151, 154, 158, 159, 168, 187.	
Shaw, Weston.....	53
Shaxton, Mr.....	5, 6
Shelley, John, Esq.....	158

Sidney, Sir Robert.....	23
Smith, Toulmin.....	37, 73
Somerscales, John.....	2, 3
Southampton, Henry Herbert, Earl of.....	6, 23, 24, 26
Stopes, Mrs. Charlotte.....	84
Southern, John.....	164, 165
Tarlton, Richard.....	178
Tilney, Edmund.....	27, 149, 177, 179, 180, 181, 183
Tilney, Edward.....	16, 17
Tilney, Robert.....	17
Tomlins, Thomas Edlyne.....	179
Trott, Nicholas.....	39, 142
Turner, Dawson.....	110
Underhill, Bridget.....	145
Underhill, Hercules.....	145
Underhill, Sir Hercules.....	160
Underhill, Nicholas.....	158
Underhill, Sir Thomas.....	145
Van Lore, Peter.....	91
Vere, Susan, Countess of Montgomery.....	32
Waldgrave, Sir William.....	59, 60
Waldgrave, Avice.....	59
Walker, Henry.....	31, 34
Wallace, Prof. C. W.....	31, 135, 151, 152
Walsingham, Sir Francis.....	149, 178
Ward, Rev. John.....	73
Warren, William Earl.....	158
White, Rowland.....	23
Whitgift, Bishop.....	3, 126
Wilson, Robert.....	178
Willoughby, Ambrose.....	23
Windsor, Lord.....	151
Winwood, Sir Ralph.....	135
Wolsey, Cardinal.....	19, 20, 23, 135
Wormlaughton, Ralph.....	155
Wotton, Sir Henry.....	22
Wright, Christopher.....	56
Wright, Jane.....	56
Wyrcester, William.....	115

The Gesta Grayorum not indexed

Q. 26
6/7/21

HARVARD LAW SCHOOL
LIBRARY

Received *JUNE 10, 1921.*



NEW YORK
741 ST. NICHOLAS
UNITY

